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latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kaitu, Mauake, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mulitonga, Keo, and Pua.
Loto: Walalua.
Yato: Tokalua iti, Tokalua matua, Wakatiu, Palapu, Yulu, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Niua and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

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formerly each village, through its power over specific gods, thought itself able to control the named winds by praying to the appropriate god. No special magical technique would be required for this purpose and the matter would be left to the routine duties of the priest when consulting the gods in the god house.

The gods exercise a general control over the winds from the four cardinal directions (p. 311). The story of Kaliwi (1.) tells how a woman invokes each of the personified winds to blow her down from a tree top, but only the cold Tonga wind has strength to loosen her grip and send her tumbling to the ground.

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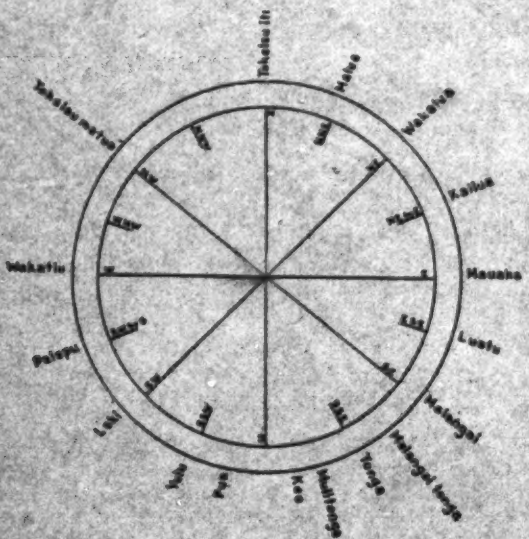

FIGURE 2.—Pukapukan winds and directions named therefrom.

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The word for side or direction is *kaokao*. Hence a person says *kaokao tokelau* (northern direction), *kaokao tonga* (southern direction.) The term *punga matangi* refers to that portion of the beach which faces the direction of a wind blowing truly from *tokelau*, *tonga*, etc. To indicate precise directions when a wind is not blowing on the *punga*, the term *mao* is used. *E mao tokelau* is a wind from the north blowing a little to one side or the other of the true *tokelau* wind. This direction may be specified by adding the name of the next wind direction to the name of the *mao* wind; thus a wind blowing

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The open sea opposite each reef was controlled by the village owning the reef and only men from that village might go deep-sea fishing there. As the canoe channel on the western reef was controlled by Yato village, men from Loto and Ngake had to receive permission before taking their canoes across the break (*ava*) in the reef at this point. This was a frequent request, for the only other break close to the villages is on the north-eastern side of Wale, rarely as sheltered and manageable as the western side. Permission was given as a matter of generosity. Trespassers in the fishing reserves of other villages were punished by fines in nuts levied by the guards (p. 37) of the village whose reef was violated.

Before the causeway (*kolo*) was built across the western arm of the lagoon on Wale, this lagoon indentation was considered a part of the reserve of Nina. After the causeway was constructed, Yato village still retained control of the "bay", and turned it into a fish pond. It is simply called *te loto*, the name for any enclosed water. This pond contains many *ava* fish (white mullet), which fatten on the algae growing on the lagoon bottom. The fish are tapu for most of the year, but at certain arranged times, generally at the end of each month, the pond is opened to fishing parties from Yato for one or more days. Fishing is sometimes an individual matter; at other times all the men of Yato fish together on the same day. The catch is divided among all the people of the village. Some of this fish finds its way through gift to other villages, but the sole right to fish in this pond is jealously guarded by Yato men.

LANDS AND BOUNDARIES

The land on the three islets is divided among the villages. Each village retains control of the lands specifically set aside as communal village lands. The rest of the land within the village boundaries is controlled by the paternal and maternal lineages. The village boundaries (*tuakoi*) on Wale are shown on the map (fig. 1, *b*).[1]

The present boundary lines between the villages date from a period just after the great seismic wave of about 300 years ago. After this catastrophe, in the reign of the chief Maina or of his successors, Tuiavanga and Alatakupu, it was decided to realign the boundaries to take care of population growth. The technique used is called *tutuki*, a form of stick wrestling. A weapon (*kaio*) of *autau* wood, about 4 to 6 feet long, is held by two men facing each other, each trying to push his opponent backward. The boundary advances or retreats according to the position of the weapon. In the contest in question, all three villages participated, lined up along a provisional boundary running from lagoon to outer beach near the present church.

Loto faced Yato on the west and Ngake on the east. Before the contest commenced, the high chief (*aliki uolo*) went to the sacred place of the goddess Tava and requested

1. [See p15, category IIb—analyst]

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[626 776] her to punish any man who violated the rule that no man should become so enraged with his opponent as to do him physical injury. Fear of Tuna's punishment, an affliction of tumors under the arm and on the stomach with possible death from these sicknesses, was sufficient to restrain those with short tempers.

526 423 621 At an agreed signal, pairs of opponents wrestled for possession of the *haio* stick. Whenever a man wrested the stick from an opponent, he placed it on the ground to mark the boundary for the moment. When one contestant relaxed, his vis-a-vis was in honor bound to stop wrestling and place the stick on the ground until the other had recovered breath. The expression "Yoka ki lalo te kaio ke makeke, ke wakamanava" (Thrust the *haio* firmly down—into the ground—to rest) refers to this act. One might insult, grimace at, or threaten one's opponent, one might twist the weapon from his hands, edge his hands off the two ends of the stick, throw him off his balance by wrenching or twisting the stick or by grasping him round the waist—do anything in fact to secure possession of the stick save shed blood. At the end of the day the pushing was ended by mutual consent, and the provisional boundary line was marked by sticks or stones joining up the points where each weapon rested on the ground. For seven days or more this wrestling was continued, and when it was finally stopped, the line drawn from one weapon to the next was taken as the final boundary between the three villages. Insofar as the line of weapons was crooked, depending on the fortunes of the members of each village throughout the contest, so was the boundary line rambling.

621 423 776 At about the same time as the *tutuki* contest for village boundaries on Wale, further *tutuki* were held on Motu Ko and Motu Kotawa to decide village control of these reserves.

On Kotawa, the men from the three villages lined up and struggled as before. The Yato men had driven the other two villages as far as the reef joining Kotawa to Ko, when hard feeling arose and Loto men began to use their weapons as clubs, felling some of their opponents and drawing much blood. Just then a huge eel was seen swimming along the reef with wide open jaws as if ready to devour the wrongdoers. All the men became frightened at this apparition, which was either Tuna in an animal incarnation or an animal sent by her to frighten the people. Yato men ran back onto Kotawa, while Loto and Ngake men fled along the reef to Ko. Hence Yato claimed control of Kotawa through ultimate right of possession, and this claim was conceded by the other two villages.

621 423 A contest was then held on Ko between Loto and Ngake to decide ownership of this reserve. After much struggle, a boundary was drawn on the reserve, such that Loto received a small section of the western end of the islet and Ngake a larger section at the northeastern end. This arrangement continued until some generations later when an arrangement was effected whereby certain lands on Wale belonging to Ngake were transferred to Loto's reserve of Uta in consideration for Loto's withdrawing entirely from Ko. Though the arrangement was actualized, there was dissatisfaction among some Loto men at the time, a feeling which still continues, Loto villagers thinking that an effort should be made before a Land Court to secure the return of land on Ko. [548]

The *tutuki* contest was probably used at various other times in Pukapukan history to readjust boundaries when a shift or increase of population in the village made it imperative that one village should have more land. There are vague references to *tutuki* contests in traditions, but the one that settled boundaries much as they are today is that which is best remembered.

There are no boundary walls on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa. Heaps of stones scattered across the ground are the only traces of the boundaries of

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the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pu i te utu*) near the present residency, the second (*te pu i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pu i te tukunga uuu*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauri ala hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauri tua hi tua*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauri* (a strong ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauri* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus enforced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called *pule*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating talo beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waleton, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

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226 482 used as live bait, he places the basket in a little hollow scooped out in the sand, half submerged in sea water. In spearing, torching, clubbing, and the modern method of iron spear catapulting, fish caught are tied together with coconut fiber (*kalavu*) passed through the gills. The fish are laid on a convenient coral head when the fisherman moves or dives. To carry them greater distances, he strings them around the waist to make a malo of fish (*malo ika*) or loops them over the arm. Chants which celebrate the winning of fishing contests make frequent reference to the men coming home with strings of fish around head, waist, and shoulders.

226 The following list gives several common terms employed in fishing:

Tukuuka or wakaydia: to pay out a line.
Wawati: to pull in a line (general); to pull in a short line with overhand strokes.
Tupe or hanga: to pull in a long line with long overarm strokes.
Wakamatala: to take the strain on a line when a fish is fighting and cannot be pulled in.
Wakamatala: to jerk a line to disengage the sinker.
Tae: to net fish in the air or to make an outward sweep of the net.
Teli: to make an inward sweep of the net to scoop fish into the canoe.
Yoka or mamono: to plunge the net into the water with a downward sweep in order to net a fish.

226 626 A lazy man who does not go fishing is termed, in ridicule, *atua wawine* (female god), because he seems more concerned with the sphere of activities presided over by female gods who never interfere with the fishing pursuits of men. Another expressive phrase used to describe a bad fisherman is: "Ia koe i te maunu kava" (You have a bitter bait).

226 777 In general, bad luck in fishing is attributable to the breaking of tapus or to the domestic circumstances of the fisherman. If a wife commits adultery while her husband is out fishing, he will have bad luck; formerly he might repair his luck by prayers to his god. If a man quarrels with his wife before fishing or if he goes fishing while there is a corpse in his house, he will be unsuccessful (*ka kaya*).

226 782 776 778 Before going fishing in former days a man was careful to pray to his god or ask the priest of his paternal lineage to pray to the lineage gods for success in his undertaking. When a man went fishing for special fish, controlled by certain gods, he always prayed to these gods and again to the gods that control the winds. As his canoe passed the place where the sacred clearing (*yionga*) of an ancestor god was visible, the fisherman stood up in his canoe and prayed to this god that he might procure plenty of fish and lose none of his pearl-shell hooks. Canoes going deep-sea fishing off the western side of the atoll, especially when trolling for bonito, always stopped opposite the stone of the god, Makkitelangi, near the western reef channel to leave on this stone a gift for the god—a malo, some sennit, or a fish-hook. The gift (*nukatetea*) was later removed from the stone by the priest

226 782

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226 of the god and placed in the god house. These prayers for good luck sur-
782 vive today in the prayer meetings that are held in the several villages before the fleets set out for a fishing contest and in the prayers that are said at sea before the first line is thrown overboard. In the story of Pania (1) a fisherman gives some fish to his god after returning from an expedition, in order to thank him for his services. Informants were unable to state whether this was a common custom in former days.

226 A curious story is that of the man Taewa who became a successful fisher-
304 man even though he did not observe any of the fishing tapus:
784

Taewa tried many times to be a good fisherman, but without success. Disgusted with himself after many years of effort, he decided that the only way to improve his fortune was to circumcise himself. He was the first and only Pukapukan man to do this. With a clam shell, he made a longitudinal slit in the foreskin, then slashed the skin till it hung in tatters. The wounds healed, and ever after Taewa had good luck in fishing. So fortunate was he that he could afford to disobey all the fishing tapus without suffering any penalties from the gods. He named the Black Nebula below Crux, Te Punivi, because the shape of the nebula reminded him of the shape of the *punivi* fish. Some say that Taewa was protected by a spirit in this nebula when he broke tapus, though most known how this protection was exercised. Others say his luck was due to the fact that he always fished when Te Punivi rose above the horizon and not at any other time. None could explain the effect of his voluntary circumcision upon fishing luck.

225 There was no method of catching whales. When a whale was stranded
776 on the reef, a call was sent through the three villages. The women rushed off to the taro beds to bring back taro which they prepared for the men who went to cut up the animal. The work of cutting up was supervised by a priest of Te Maungatu, the god who was supposed in some ill-defined way to control the stranding of whales. The blubber was divided among all the
237 people of the island. The vertebrae were used as seats; no use seems to have been made of the whalebone.

SIMPLE METHODS

226 Ill-defined methods of fishing—stone throwing or stone clubbing, stepping on fish, hand scooping, and hand flipping—are employed only incidentally to other activities.

Stone throwing (*kaowa ki te matu*) or stone clubbing (*pato ki te matu*) is performed by a man walking through the lagoon shallows who sees lagoon fish near by, often sleeping undisturbed at his approach. Fish killed by this method are yellow snapper, rock groupers, parrot fish, and flounders.

When a man fishing other lagoon fish comes across a flounder resting on the bottom, he makes a quick jab with his foot to pin down the fish, then picks it up, and kills it by biting it behind the head.

If a man sees a fish resting close by but can not find a stone or stick with which to kill it, he approaches quietly and, quickly dipping his hands into the water, scoops the fish onto the beach. This method is often successful with mullet, lagoonet, flounder,

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226 *Pole* fishing is carried out only at night after moonset of the first nights of the new moon. A man fishes alone or with several men in one canoe. After flying fish for bait are caught, the canoe is lodged to the reef by about 200 fathoms of line. The hooked *Ruvettus* is speared before being drawn into the canoe.

Other fish caught at the same time are *katakata*, *kapua*, the giant *malau*, and a few other large-eyed, night-feeding fish. *Kapua* and *Ruvettus* are considered most eating fish, though *kapua* is said to have better flavor.

TROLLING

Three systems of trolling (*taki*) for fish are used in Pukapuka:

1. Trolling while swimming (*taki ia, taki akaulu*, according to the fish caught). A man swimming in the deeper waters of the lagoon at dusk holds in one hand a few fathoms of fishline to one end of which a bone gorge (*au*) and bait are fastened. He pays out the line and lets it troll behind him as he swims. This is a method of catching needle fish.

2. Trolling from a canoe with a line (*takitaki*). One end of a fishline is held in the hand or fastened to the cross boom of the canoe outrigger; the other end is paid out over the stern of the canoe and left to troll behind. The line is sometimes jerked by hand to add movement to the lure. At other times the line is paid out fully and then rapidly pulled in again. A composite shell hook, sometimes today a pigeon, white tern, or tropic bird feather, or a baited hook serves to attract fish. The bait is alive or dead according to the fish to be caught. The trolling is across the lagoon by canoes going to the reserves, along the outside of the reef, or farther out to sea.

3. Trolling with a rod (*uatiko*) over the stern of the canoe (*taki*). An unbaited composite hook, a feather fly, or a baited hook is used. If the fishing pole is not oscillated with the hand, movements of the hook or lure derive only from the motion of the canoe. Rod trolling may be inside or outside the reef. Fish trolled are caught equally well with rod or line except *kumiko*, *pala*, *kamai*, and *akaulu*, which are caught exclusively with trolling rod and unbaited hook.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with baited hook: *atua* with live *matolo* bait and wooden hook; *tatu* and *lai* with live or dead *kalama* bait; *tamatama* with live *matolo* bait; *atuale* (close to the reef) with live or dead bait; rock groupers (along the reef) with any bait; *pakeva* with a *tafai* manuga hook and live bait of needle fish, *kalama*, or *matolo*.

Fish trolled with rod or line from canoe and with unbaited hook or feather fly: *akaulu*, the parrot fish, *pakeva*, *pese*, *kalamatia*, and *lai* (with fly of pigeon feather); *matiro*, the rock groupers, *pakeva*, *lai*, *tatu*, and *manu* with a fly of white tern or tropic bird feather.

BONITO FISHING

Fishing for bonito (*ji atu*) requires special techniques and was formerly tied up with much ceremonial. The bonito (*atu*) fishing season opens with the morning rising of the Pleiades and lasts for three to four months thereafter. As bonito schools (*lasanga atu*) are believed to follow the schools of flying fish, bonito fishing comes after the flying-fish season has already commenced. Bonito bite best in the new and full of the moon.

226 776 782 At the rising of the Pleiades the men of the island formerly gathered together to decide what fish were to be specially fished during the coming season and what was to be the composition of the crews for the various fishing groups. There was no special religious ceremony to open the season but the priest of the god *Maloldolongi*, protector

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226 of bonito, communicated with this god to insure his favor during the coming bonito
776 season. The old men (*tupolo*) decided which of the younger men should make up the
782 bonito-fishing group (*aotanga*) for the season. None but the men of this group might fish *ata*. The *aotanga* fishermen were fed by the old men, who gave them cooked taro to take with them each day they went fishing. The fish caught were all brought to the meeting place (*malae*) of the old men and there divided among the people of the island with the proviso that each man of the fishing group was allowed to have the head of the fish he caught in addition to his share of the flesh. The group which caught *ata* one year automatically became the group for scouring *pala* fish the next year. All fish caught were similarly divided by the old men among the people. The men of the 226 *aotanga* group, which consisted of about four canoe crews, each of five or six men, 868 were taught the elements of *ata* fishing, the rules, tapus, and skills before the season started. There were no special names for the crew members. The best fisherman (*tangata tau uwiwi*), who was usually also the oldest man of the group, became captain. His was the canoe that always shot the reef passage first. The next canoe to follow had the next oldest man of the *aotanga* as captain, and so on for all the canoes of the *aotanga*.

226 Besides having care of the canoe and fishing gear, the captain of each canoe was
763 responsible for providing bonito hooks. He had to provide one hook for each member
431 of the crew, including himself; in a six-seater canoe the captain went fishing with six bonito hooks on his bonito rod. If, while the canoe was fishing, a storm arose that seemed likely to break the canoe up, the captain gave to each member of the crew one bonito hook from those on his rod. Each man tied his hook around his neck to act as a breast ornament (*pano*); were the men drowned thereafter, each went to his death provided with his death ornament. If there were too few hooks to go round the crew, as might sometimes happen if hooks were lost from the line while fishing, the captain gave to those without hooks any article of value in the canoe—a section of anchor rope or ordinary single-piece hooks. In this way no member of the crew lacked a death gift. The theory behind this was that the captain was responsible for getting together his crew, for their safety in this life, and for their dying at sea as well provided with gifts as if they died on land. To give out the gifts was *wakapano*, and the gift itself was *pano*, as distinguished from the death gift on land, *wateaga*.

Ata fishing was a somewhat perilous occupation because the canoe might press out far from land in pursuit of a shoal of fish and, caught in a storm, be unable to make a landfall again.

226 The canoes of the *aotanga* left the village early in the morning. As they passed
[782] the rock called Te Ule-mate-o-te-tokalua, which juts out of the water opposite Yato village, the captain placed a malo, hook, or simple coconut leaf on this rock as a gift (*wakaetewa*) to the god Maleleilangi, that the god would give the canoes good fortune. It was taps for any canoe going across the reef to scrape the bottom on the coral. If a canoe did this, it could not proceed farther but had to return to the village without fishing during the day. Rain drives away bonito fish from the surface, and if the canoes did not sight fish after patrolling for some time, it was permissible for them to return to the reef to rest. All the crew, save only the bowman, might step out on the reef and walk about; if the bowman forgot the taps and stepped out, the whole crew had immediately to return to the village without further delay, even if meantime a shoal of fish had been sighted. If this taps was disobeyed, the canoe was likely to be destroyed by lightning. When the victims of such a mishap as the breaking of a tapu returned to the village, they were greeted with insults and labeled *ngango elo* (stinking ngango birds). The shame of the crew was great if later in the day the other canoes of the group returned loaded with *ata* fish.

226 Bonito was not regarded as a fish (*iku*) but as an animal (*manu*). Fishermen
[825] located bonito schools by the flocks (*inoa*) of seabirds following them. Canoes trolled up and down outside the reef. The captain sat against the bonito rod, which was sup-

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ported by the notch in the rear seat (*yulunga matile*). When a bonito engaged the hook, the rod pressed against the captain's fundament. He reached out with his right hand, grasped the rod, swung it around to the right side of the canoe, and landed the fish in the canoe. When the crew sighted a school of fish, the men paddled furiously to reach the school and kept paddling to remain with it. The captain stood up and faced the rear of the canoe. He held the handgrip (*tuhau*) of the rod against the thigh with the left hand, grasping the rod some distance toward the point with the right hand. The man next to the rodman gently splashed (*tapipi*) water on the hook which trailed on the surface. When a bonito bit the hook, the rod was flipped up and the fish came flying in toward the rodman. It struck him on the chest or belly, and the impact of the striking disentangled the fish from the hook. As the fish fell into the bottom of the canoe, the rod was immediately swung out again. To swing the fish to the belly is *yi tata*. A bungling or inexpert rodman who lost his fish in mid-air was referred to as *yi kowikowi*.

While the canoe was on or near a bonito school, it was tapu to drop anything overboard, whether paddle or other article, or a fish from the rod. The dropped object or the dropped fish, by its rapid tail-spin descent through the water, frightened the school. The man who dropped anything overboard was reported to the old men and was fined by this body 50 talo puddings (*maswu*) or the equivalent. Today, when one man has a grudge against another, a pleasant form of revenge is to wait until the enemy is on a school of bonito and then to come up quietly from behind and drop a paddle overboard. It was also tapu formerly to let the rod slip from the thigh. The rodman who allowed his rod to slip was reported by his crew to the old men and by them fined 1,000 talo puddings. The slipping of the rod was extremely serious: it not only allowed a fish to drop and frighten the school but might also entangle the hooks and waste precious time. If such an incident was not reported to the old men, the god Malokitelangi punished the crew by striking the canoe with lightning.

When the canoes came back to the reef after a day of fishing, the crew signalled the people waiting on the western beach the number of fish caught during the day. These signals were made by holding a wet paddle in the air and twisting it so that it flashed (*lapa*) in the sunlight. One flash given by a man standing upright in a canoe meant that the canoe had caught 100 fish, two flashes meant 200 fish, and so on. If one canoe had caught 150 fish and another canoe 50, then 50 fish from the first canoe were transferred (*tauhele*) to the second canoe. The man in the first canoe stood to flash his paddle, but the man in the second canoe remained seated when he flashed. If two or more canoes caught between them more than 100 fish but less than 200, then only one standing flash from one canoe was allowed. These canoes allowed one or more flashes each approached the reef first.

The captains of the returning canoes carefully washed their bonito hooks and lines in fresh water after arriving home. This act is *wakamongalo*. Hooks were soaked in a bowl (*humele*) of fresh water, or submerged in a fresh-water pool. Placing hooks in a pool of water was sometimes perilous as stories tell of men whose hooks were stolen from these pools while they attended to other duties. Hooks lost from the rod at sea were believed to be taken by fish to the undersea house of the god Totolou and there stored by him in the rafters of his house.

Bonito fishing is dying out in Pukapuka today, because, it is said, the fish are vanishing from Pukapukan waters. The old ceremonial is already gone. Whereas formerly a canoe might easily catch 100 or more during one day, now a canoe is lucky to return with three or four fish, an inadequate return for the hard physical labor involved. Bonito hooks are hoarded as valuable heirlooms and for use as death gifts.

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292 Informants disagreed as to whether it was rectangular or round, but it was finely plaited of *hio* pandanus material. It was slipped over the head and fell to about eight inches below the neck. No fringe is mentioned. Ties from the bottom front were carried round to the back and [illegible]. Ties from the bottom back were fastened to the front ties at the middle of the back. The garment was thus a cape covering shoulders and breasts. It was probably worn by some women on festive occasions, not from modesty perhaps, but as a type of decoration (*tohumanea* or *mea makalelei*) or as a sketchy protection against the sun.

Decorative kilts (*tahaw*) were sometimes worn by the women. They were made by dipping strips of *lito* pandanus material into red dye and fastening these strips either to the ordinary coconut-leaf kilt, thus making a kilt of green and red strips, or else to a separate girdle worn over the coconut-leaf kilt.

Ceremonial Dress

292 Special varieties of the poncho garment, the ceremonial priestly headdress, and the pandanus *malo*, constituted the attire of the chief when he went 796 to the religious structure of his lineage for his induction or later for consulta- 613 tions. Special garments were worn according to the god consulted. The 643 garment (*ofo*) of the chief of Muliwutu for consulting the gods Maloki'elangi, Te Mataki'ete, or Tumailangi, was made of netted two-ply twisted 778 sennit and called *ofo kupenga*; that of the chief of Matanga for consulting the god Tumulivaka was made of plaited *wulo* fiber (*ofo wulo*); that of Tua 776 for the gods Mataliki and Tamayei was made of fine plaited *hio* material (*ofo koulibi*).

No informant had seen an example of these *ofo* garments, but it was suggested that they were made in the shape of the *la kupenga* garment with fringes of the same material as the body. It was believed that the gods concerned were the type of *ofo* garment ascribed to them during their stays [787 828] in the Underworld and that they came in dreams to the men or women to whom they taught the technique for the appropriate garment. The *ofo* of the chief was a very tapu costume, protected both by the sacredness of the chief and the vaguely conceived power of the gods. If any unauthorised person handled the *ofo* garment, the god would punish him by striking him dead with a flash of lightning.

292 A special type of headdress (*taumalo kowa* or *taumalo alibi*) was worn by the supreme chief and sub-chiefs on festive occasions. Geoffrey Henry reports that he saw the late chief Pilato wearing a hat of this type during the visit of the missionary boat *John Williams* to Pukapuka in 1912. No old hat of sennit exists on the island today, but informants made one which may be considered fairly authentic. Gill (10, pl. p. 18) shows a native wearing a

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19 inches long are fastened to the netting of the hat. One end of one fringe is laid on the outside rim of the hat, passing up and over the outside apex, and down to the rim again at a point opposite the starting point. The fringe is fastened to rim, netting meshes, and apex by a continuous sennit cord which makes transverse turns round fringe and points of attachment about 1 inch apart. The second fringe is applied to the hat in a similar manner, passing from rim over apex to opposite rim at right angles to the first fringe. A third length of fringe 24 inches long is fastened round the rim in a horizontal plane with a continuous sennit cord. To the inside of the rim a piece of pandanus ½ inch wide is bound with continuous turns of sennit to form a hat band. Informants suggested that the more correct hat band material is *welo* bark. Two lengths of sennit are tied to the apex of the hat and their ends knotted together to form a suspension loop 11½ inches long by which the hat may be hung up when not in use. The fringe is combed out at regular intervals to prevent snarling of the fibers.

The priests of each lineage (*po*) wore headdresses when consulting the gods in the god houses or on the religious structures. Headdresses not in use were hung up in the god houses. The relation of the headdresses to the gods is obscure. Some thought that the headdress was worn in the Underworld by the god in question, others that a priest wore a special headdress because a certain god gave him inspiration when he was an initiate, still others that the headdress was worn only for consulting special gods. Probably all three opinions are equally correct. Some headdresses were described by informants who had seen them in their extreme youth. Gaps of memory were filled in by reference to chants. None today can make any of the headdresses of which there are no survivals on the island.

The headdress of priests of Muliwutu was called *aumanga*. It was also associated with the god Te Laupapa. Two strips of red-dyed *welo* bark (*wuti welo*), each about 2 inches wide and long enough to pass round the head, were fastened together to form a headband. At front and back between the double headband strip were fastened two pieces of turtle shell, each about 2 inches wide and from 12 to 16 inches long. The two pieces were about 5 inches apart at the base and crossed like a St. Andrews Cross.

The headdress of Matanga, Yangalipule, and Yamansis sub-lineage, was called *pulou*, and was associated with the god Te Awuawu. The head was oiled and the hair laid straight back flat on the head, overhanging the neck and back. A double headband of *wuti welo* bark was wound round the head. To the front of the band was fastened a single strip of turtle shell, to the tip of which was tied a large bunch of *wuti welo* streamers which fell back over the hair and onto shoulders and back.

The headband of Tua and of Matanga sub-lineage was called *aumanga pakayau hotaou* (headdress of crossed frigate bird feathers). It was associated with the god Ngaliyeyeu. It consisted of the usual *wuti welo* headband, to the front of which were fastened two frigate-bird wings crossing each other to give a fish-tail effect. An alternate headdress for priests of Tua was associated with the goddess Tasa. It was made of fine mesh sennit netting and was termed *kupapa ya*. The headdress probably resembled the sennit hat of the chief without the coconut fiber fringe. The net of the goddess Tasa had the virtue of rendering invisible anything over which it was cast, and also of blinding the thing hidden under it. Hence when a foreign vessel was reported off the island, the priests of Tasa donned their net headdresses, thus symbolizing that Tasa had placed her net over the whole island and that it was now invisible to the crews of the foreign canoes.

The headdress of Yalongo and Yayi lineages was called *putiki hekeo*. It was associated with Te Asua Vaelua and Te Alongaoa. The long hair was oiled and braided

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[302] in the shape of a cone on top of the head. *Welo* bark was wrapped round the forehead, and the wrapping continued round the cone of hair to the apex. A single piece of turtle shell fastened to the headband stood up in front of the wrapped turbanlike cone. Long *uuti welo* streamers were fastened to the tip of the turtle shell, falling back over the top of the cone to blow out in the wind.

The headdress of Yamaunga was also called *aumaupa*, but was associated with Te Maungatu and Talitongauuku. It consisted of the *welo* headband base to the front of which was fastened a piece of turtle shell cut in a conventional representation of a fish-tail (like a Tau cross with an inverted cross member). To the cross member of this turtle-shell cross were tied *welo* streamers at four equidistant intervals. At equal spaces round the headband were fastened four strips of turtle shell, each 6 inches high. To the tip of each piece of turtle shell was fastened one *welo* streamer.

ORNAMENT AND DECORATION

Ornaments and body decorations of shell, leaves, and flowers are worn round the waist, over the shoulders, suspended from the ears and hair, on occasions when the Pukapukan man or woman feels the call to beautify the body—for formal festive occasions, or informally whenever flowers and leaves are at hand. Tattooing and body painting were unknown in Pukapuka. There are no discoverable references to them in chants or stories.

Almost every leaf or flower on the atoll may be worn at one time or another by man, woman, or child as a chaplet (*tauuuta*), necklace (*yei*), or waist decoration (*ati*). Women seldom return from the talo gardens without a few leaves or flowers stuck in their hair or fastened about the waist as a rough girdle. Men serving as guards or working in the bush always find time to make for themselves a chaplet or necklace of leaves. Children stop in their play to make themselves little foliage decorations. Young people, bound for lovers' meetings on moonlight nights, oil their bodies and hair with sweet-scented coconut oil and make themselves necklaces of *tiale* flowers.

Village Decorations

For public festivals, such as those celebrating the winning of a sports contest, each of the three villages has its own characteristic foliage for decorative kilts, chaplets, and shoulder baudaliers. The people of Ngake make their decoration of *mako wale* (the white-heart leaves of the pandanus), *lakau yili*, *tauuakomako*, or *pala pala*; the people of Loto make decorations of banana leaves (*lau uuti*); the people of Yato, of coconut leaves or the *maile* fern. Decorations of these leaves are distinctive signs (*mailongo*) of the respective villages. Waist decorations (*ati*) are worn over the customary basic garment.

The *titi wale wale* (kilt of white leaves of pandanus) is made by stripping young leaves from the pandanus tree. Spikes are trimmed from each leaf and the leaf is split in two longitudinally. Each leaf is white for most of its length shading to a pale green at one end. A plain *uuu* of prepared pandanus (*lifo*) is used as a basic girdle. The worker lays the girdle on the ground, takes one leaf and fastens the green end to the

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613 group. If the head is a male, he is succeeded at death by the next oldest member, sometimes by his sister's son. His functions are light. He acts as gift-giver at the *uaele* feasts for first-born children in the families making up the descent group. He represents the lineage at inter-lineage and village meetings, arranges for the carrying out of its activities in games, competitions and feasts. He has no special status in the community beyond a certain position within his own group, based on seniority. There is no record today of internal moiety organization, but it is likely that the senior lineage within the moiety formerly appointed a head man to oversee the affairs of the moiety.

No tapu objects are linked with the maternal lineages today. No gods were linked with them in former times.

Informants had little clear memory of any association between moiety, lineage, or sub-lineage and plant, animal, or natural phenomena. There is no suggestion of any relationship that could be construed as totemistic.

It is possible that formerly each lineage had associated with it a type of decoration, or an object used as a status or prestige symbol. A suggestion of this occurs in the chant, "Punana Te Wata, kino te wenua" (1); informants thought a reference to the *kai*, a seaweed that grows in the ocean and is said to color the sea red or yellow or green, was associated in some way with the Wea Ulia. Informants were unable to define this relationship, nor could they in general give the names of other plant or natural phenomena linked with any of the other lineages. Two reliable informants, however, asserted that the *uatea* and coconut trees were linked with the Lulu, and the pandanus tree with the Kati groups. They could give no details of this linkage and this reference may refer to a time when there was a type of prestige symbol associated with each lineage, a matter otherwise totally forgotten today.

613 Today the sub-lineages are strictly exogamic. To marry a member of
582 one's own sub-lineage is to commit incest (*kai uale*, "house eating" or *kai*
684 *kiko*, "flesh eating"). There was no secular punishment for this breaking
776 of tapu, but the goddess Tasa or the god of his paternal lineage would punish a male deviant with sickness, tumors, or accidental death by falling from a tree; and Mataliki or the god of her paternal lineage would punish a woman with sickness, accidental death, difficult childbirth, loss of her child in childbirth, or barrenness.

613 The maternal lineages are neither exogamic nor endogamic. The mem-
616 bers of a lineage, provided they do not belong to the same sub-lineage, may
618 intermarry if the other rules governing marriage, avoidance tapus, and rules
582 of consanguinity are not infringed.
171

In former times, before the sub-lineages had subdivided themselves from the lineages, the moieties and lineages were possibly exogamic, and the lineages functioned as clans. As the number of lineages in each group increased and subdivided into smaller functional units, each sub-lineage continued the pattern of exogamy derived from the larger unit, and there was then no need to impose lineage exogamy. More precisely, exogamy,

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613 643 597

never succeeded to the title, though descent might be through a woman where her male child was adopted by the chief. Before he died, the chief nominated his successor by the act of placing a pearl-shell ornament (*yasa*) around the man's neck. After the chief's death the matter was discussed by the people of the paternal lineage. If they disapproved the chief's choice, on the ground of incompetence, there was much discussion and possible intrigue, until they agreed on another suitable candidate. In this way, direct male issue might be passed over in favor of someone from a junior line of the lineage, who would be adopted into the main line of descent before induction into office. The time elapsing between the death of the chief and the induction of a successor varied according to the amount of discussion involved, and the number of conflicting lines to be harmonized. The final choice of the lineage was indicated by placing the ornament (*yasa*) round the neck of the successor and the *tamanea* ornament (a string of pearl-shell fishhook shanks) round his waist. In Muliwutu lineage, the chosen person had to establish his right to the title by passing a test. He went to the sacred enclosure of the lineage and struck the stone of the god; if the god was favorably inclined to this candidate, he sent a rainbow across the sky. No candidate who was unable thus to produce a rainbow was ever inducted as chief.

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Both pattern and variation governing succession to title are best illustrated by a consideration of the types of succession recorded in the genealogy of the supreme chief. In the accompanying genealogy (table 4) the chiefly title-holders are numbered consecutively from Mataliki to the present day.

The succession passed from father to son from Mataliki, the traditional founder of Pukapuka, to the sixth chief, Kamola, in the sixth generation. From a genealogy of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake, it would seem that Kamola succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu, and in his person the two chiefs of Tua and Muliwutu were combined. Kamola had a son, unnamed in the Tua genealogy but named Tamaliki in the Muliwutu genealogy, who apparently succeeded to the title of chief of Muliwutu. In Tua lineage matters were more complex.

Kamola's son was married to a woman named Yakmayika, who was very kind to Kamola in sickness and in his old age. Kamola's son was apparently less filial in this respect, and Kamola thought to reward his daughter-in-law for her care and attention by passing the title to anyone she wished to name. Yakmayika herself could not hold the title, but Kamola was of the opinion that the honor of naming the next chief was the greatest tribute he could pay to her friendship for him.

The people of the lineage objected to the possibility of the title's passing out of their own lineage under this arrangement, so they insisted that Kamola should propose a test; if Yakmayika could find a champion (*tao*) to pass this test, then she might name the successor to the title. Kamola agreed to this arrangement. He gathered a great number of coconut leaves, stripping several trees completely. With one leaflet tied round his waist, he lay on the ground, face downward, and was covered with all the coconut leaves. The test was to pick up at one time all the leaves covering Kamola without injuring the chief. Yakmayika chose Kui, a man of special powers, to act as her champion. Kui took his spear and advanced toward the prone figure of the chief, performing the *kapa* ritual (p. 322). He struck at Kamola once but failed to pick up the leaves; struck a second time but failed; the third time he thrust his spear clean and with a superhuman wrench picked up all the coconut leaves covering Kamola. He threw these all in the air with the exception of the leaf round Kamola's waist, which he left undisturbed. As the leaves fell through the air, Kui struck them in rapid succession, shattering each leaf before it touched the ground.

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made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs. Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Matalilei and Taua, the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be summarized as follows:

Village meetings (*aukapono laki*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled intra-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*aukaponanga no te tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*aukaponanga a te aroi aliki*) discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

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the chief's executive (*uvola*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te tumanga*) to the several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki* or *te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te tulatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular, but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuliayanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pas* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

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843 cause of the sickness, but the sickness itself is proof positive of the pregnancy.

The parents may continue to have intercourse right up to the time the child is delivered, without causing any injurious effects either to mother or child. No new position is adopted in intercourse, but the husband takes care to lighten his weight (*wakamama*) on the woman as much as possible.

Many tapus are observed by the pregnant woman. When she becomes pregnant for the first time, her mother or other female relative warns her about the various restrictions: "Obey these and your child will be born well and in good health; disobey them and you will have a hard labor and the child will be physically disfigured or a weakling." Inadvertence or lack of knowledge is no excuse for the breaking of these tapus. Only rarely could [176] violations be set right by special intercessions directed to the goddess Taua.

The following behavior tapus do not greatly restrict the everyday activities of the pregnant woman:

A pregnant woman may not spit out in quick successions any food, fish bones, or indigestible food scraps. If she does, her child will be born with a mouth that is continually drooling and dribbling saliva. If she needs to clear her mouth she must expectorate vigorously once and once only. A pregnant woman must not work in the taro fields, not because of possible injury to the child, but because it is likely to cause hemorrhage at delivery. This tapu is rarely observed today. A pregnant woman should not adorn herself with wreaths (*pui*), decorative bilts, or other ornaments that are wound around the body. If she does, her child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck, and so likely as not choked to death. A pregnant woman may not wind up hanks of fishline, or snatch of any sort, nor may she wring out coconut cream, sew dyes, or clothes after washing, nor may she have anything to do with twisted materials of any nature lest her child have its cord twisted about its neck. Mat making is not fraught with any harmful consequences, provided the woman does not roll her plaiting materials in the first place. If a woman quarrels with her husband, she will have a miscarriage, or else her child, when born, will be troublesome and hard to manage.

843 A woman who dislikes her favorite foods during pregnancy and longs for
261 special dishes such as nuts with sweet husks, pandanus keys, flying fish, or *Tridacna* shellfish, may safely indulge her tastes provided she does not eat the following foods which will have disastrous results:

Eating *kavea* crab must gives her child crooked legs; eating *tupa* crab must gives her child bow legs. The body of the *kaipea* crab may be eaten, but not the legs. Again, eating the abdomen of the *kavea* crab results in red testicles in the male child or large red *labia majora* in the female child. Eating fish caught by spearing produces little pock marks or abscesses on the skin of the child. The fact that husbands are not careful about the way they kill fish is given as the reason for the wide prevalence today of chronic skin sores in many babies. These sores break out on the child in places corresponding to the places where the barb of the spear entered the skin of the fish. The pregnant woman may not eat any fish killed by a thrown stone or club, lest her child [153] have a bad, injured foot or be born with the back of its skull soft and squashed in. Whether the fish is killed by her husband, by male relatives, or by unrelated men makes no difference to the incidence of the result. Hence a woman must be careful of the food she eats from a food division or feast.

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their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai yuki yukio	Carry above the head (?)
Yuyu matalagi	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipa, tipa	To one side, to one (the other) side,
Ulu ulu ei, ulu ulu ei	Up and down, up and down,
Ngalaei, ngalaei,	Undulate, undulate,
Tai ale	Stand back (?)
Ui!	Throw down!

The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Ui!" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*kuwa*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Leto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *kava* or *kuhava*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*nis wakavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te kava o te aliki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*atuanga*) of the old men's group (*tupale*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tamayei. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli aruaia*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Taikele (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food tapus or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

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mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their houses. There is no record that a seclusion (*haitau*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general populace: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

Accidental Death

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*wakamailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*). When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yionga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu place reserved for the god.

The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a net and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

Present-day Practice

Today these death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*taupe*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

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Many other moral judgments, personal insults, and condemned peculiarities are to be found in the folk tales and stories, a study of which throws much light on the specific cultural patterning of preferred conduct in Pukapuka.

DREAMS

Pukapukan theory of the causation of dreams (*miti*) links with the psychology of the soul (p. 325). The soul is conceived of as a mobile unit that leaves the body at night during sleep and wanders freely about the world in search of adventures. It is these experiences of the soul that constitute the tissue of dream-life. There is no confusion between dream reality and the reality of waking life, though the dream experience is significant of supernormal life and helps to reenforce a set of related concepts which sum up for the Pukapukan his knowledge of the supernormal world.

Dreams are valuable circumstantial evidence to the Pukapukan for the existence of the Underworld (Po). Though it is rarely given to the layman to visit the Underworld in dreams, it was common experience for the priest, and his related experiences carried with them the conviction of certitude. At times the priest might reenforce his story by displaying trophies gained by him during his visits to the Underworld, as Levi, for instance, displayed the foods that he obtained there, or the gong beaters that he took from the hand of Tulikalo (p. 330). But these materialistic evidences were not necessary for his story to gain full credence. It is related that laymen acquired, through dream visits of their souls to the Underworld, special techniques in craft activities, such as the making of fine plaited upper-body garments, which could not be learned by ordinary knowledge of a craft or by prolonged practice at its principles. Because a soul can no longer visit the Underworld of old-time Pukapuka, the making of certain garments is a lost art today.

Some dreams, especially nightmares and dreams of suffocation, are caused by the activities of free-wandering spirits and malicious familiars (*aitu*) which come to a person in sleep, grapple with his soul, and strangle it. It is the terror of this embrace that produces for the Pukapukan the peculiar horror of the nightmare. Other spirits have been known to come to a woman in sleep and have intercourse with her. Against these spirits there is no defense.

The only type of pleasant dream experience is a dream sign of the conception of a child (*miti makaiti tangata*), which generally relates to the experience of the soul with pretty flowers, trees heavily laden with fruits or coconuts, or flourishing talo beds. Dreams of falling from trees or hills down to a lower level are bad, and ill fortune will come to the dreamer or to a close relative of his. To dream of one who is dead is a sign that someone related to the dreamer will soon die, the implication being that the dreamer's soul has already seen in the Underworld one who will soon die. There is no way of mitigating the effects of a bad dream. One may tell the dream to

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824 787 [521] friends or relatives but this will not ward off its effects. Nor does it help to keep a dream secret. In point of fact, the Pukapukans take great pleasure in talking of their dreams and discussing them in great detail. Many dreams told us did not seem particularly significant but related to the arrival of a steamer at Pukapuka, bringing with it large supplies of flour and clothes for the people. These might be construed as anxiety dreams, as one of the ever-present problems of the Pukapukan of today is to obtain enough clothes to keep himself and family dressed according to the white man's idea of decency; and in an atoll where a heavy storm may seriously deplete the available food supply, it is perhaps only natural during the hurricane season to dream of abundant food. A number of dreams related to us are reserved for treatment elsewhere.

RELIGION

CLASSIFICATION OF GODS

178 771 Nowhere has cultural change had more effect on Pukapuka than in the sphere of religion. Christianity has not only erased old-time beliefs and customs; it has made it a sin to talk about pre-Christian religious practices. In the 78 years since the island was Christianized, memories of the old religion have become rusty in a way that does not apply to social organization. It is impossible to obtain eyewitness accounts of sacred ceremonies; this lack of first-hand material necessarily renders the following discussion somewhat abstract.

776 Nowhere is the confusion over old-time religion more evident than in the subject of gods (*atua*), their functions and their classification. This was considered many times with different groups of informants after we had gained their confidence; each group had differing ideas of what the old time set-up really was. The following classification suggested by informants is probably as nearly correct as any that could be made at this late date:

Atua wolo: big god.
Atua punapuna: principal gods of the paternal lineages (po) who are worshiped by priests of the lineages on special religious structures (awanga ya).
Atua tangalou: principal departmental gods, not associated with lineages, prayed to anywhere, any time, by laymen or priest.
Atua tangata: deified ancestors associated with the specific paternal lineages of which they were members when alive, prayed to by lineage priests on religious clearings (yionga) or by lay lineage members at commemorative stones (wata mauli ola).
Atua no te po: departmental gods of the Underworld, not prayed to.

Besides the above gods there are also several unclassified gods who were not prayed to and are now remembered only in legends. Through forgotten historical accident and because of dual function, several gods appear in more than one category. Informants could give no meaning to the category names, *punapuna* and *tangalou*. Classification concerns only the important gods—

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776/114 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *kio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kiko*, which would be *kiwo* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

Principal God

776/613/562 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island. He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te maana, te manu a Tana nono ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Tana stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Paternal Lineages

[753] Tana, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Tana* (birds of Tana). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Tana would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Tana was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high status accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god.

Tana prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

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776 613 human body. She was also specially consulted by the supreme chief when it was necessary to conceal the island from hostile canoes, or in cases of anti-social conduct harmful to the life of the island as a whole, such as disobedience, thieving, breaking of tapus. If individual stealing from the reserves was reported to this goddess by her priest, Taua would send sickness or cause the thief to miss his step next time he climbed a tree and so fall to the ground.

Tumulivaka, the son of the god Mataliki, was one of the more important gods of the Ngake lineage of Muliwutu. Nothing specific is remembered about his functions.

[775] Te Vayi, another god of Muliwutu, was guardian of the eight-walled structure (*pa vulu*) in the Underworld, and in this capacity could be called upon to punish deserting or adulterous husbands of any lineage by burning their souls in his fire. It is not clear whether this concept of burning a living soul is ancient.

Yawenga was a third god of Muliwutu. He became an ancestor god after he had broken the tapu against eating coconut with turtle flesh, the punishment for which was drowning by a turtle. He was later promoted to the status of an *atua punupunu*.

Te Matakiate, the daughter of Mataliki, and Malokitelangi were the principal gods of the Ngake lineage of Matanga. Their functions were general and they made no specialty of curing sickness. Malokitelangi's rainbow sign of approval was essential in the choice of chief for this lineage.

Tumailangi, god of the sub-lineage (*vakavae*) Paku of Matanga, had no separate religious structure of his own, but was consulted either in the god house of his sub-lineage, or else on the religious structure of the god Malokitelangi. He was a god with special curing powers, available to all the people of the island, but was always consulted through a priest of his sub-lineage.

Tamayei, a major god of i Tua, and the god in charge of all the coconut trees on the island, was remembered with a gift of nuts, placed aside for him whenever the chief of the island made a special *laukava* food distribution. It was also considered pleasing to this god if coconut husks were picked up, arranged neatly, and covered with humus or sand.

Kui, at first an ancestor god, later came by promotion to be god of Yangalipule lineage. His exploits as a human being during the reign of the chief Kamola are recorded elsewhere (1).

776 613 226 Tuumalanga, first an ancestor god and then an *atua punupunu* of Yamaunga lineage of Yato, was originally a child aged ten months drowned in a tale swamp after it had become flooded by heavy rains. He had special powers over fish; when the people of Yamaunga went fishing they prayed

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to this god to send fish close to the surface so that they might be more easily noosed.

Te Maungatu, another god of Yamaunga, seems to have had no special powers other than those relating to the general protection of his worshipers.

Te Mangamanga, god of Yalongo lineage of Yato, added to his general duties special duties which included the protection of the reserve of Niua, its nuts, talo and timber, and also the control of all the *ngangie* wood growing anywhere on the atoll. If anyone wished timber from Niua for a canoe, or *ngangie* for implements, he went first to the priest of Te Mangamanga, who consulted the god; if the god was willing, the priest cut down the tree or the piece of *ngangie* and gave it to the person who had requested it. For an unauthorized person to cut timber, or to steal from the reserve, constituted a theft from Te Mangamanga, and the god was quick to punish with sickness. Whales that drifted ashore also came within the special province of Te Mangamanga; it was his priest who directed the cutting up of the whale and its division among the people. No child might eat whale flesh on pain of being made sick by this god. Te Mangamanga was sometimes called *atua pouli* (god of darkness) because he was supposed to inflict his punishment under cover of darkness.

Te Tawitonga, another god of Yalongo, hissed and frightened thieves stealing talo from the beds of Niua, or from those controlled by his worshipers.

Departmental Gods

Matalolau and Matalomea resided in the mud of the talo beds. Neither religious structure nor priest was associated with them. Every time talo was taken from the beds these two gods were remembered with a gift of three or four tubers left for them in the ground.

Kanitika was originally a god who controlled the sun. Because he did not order its heat to the liking of either gods or people of Pukapuka, the four gods Te Awuawu, Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Alangaoa removed Kanitika from the sun with a pair of coconut fire tongs and threw him to the earth where he landed in a flash of lightning. Some informants thought Kanitika went back to the sun in a chastened spirit, since which time the days in Pukapuka have been much cooler; others believe he changed himself into an earthly god, renaming himself Te Atua Pule.

Te Alongaoa, besides being a god of Matanga lineage with ordinary duties, joined with Te Atua Vaelua, Ngaliyeyeu and Te Awuawu to make a quartet of free-lance gods who at times had the attributes of culture heroes, at other times those of departmental gods controlling winds and seas. These four were greatly given to bickering and contesting among themselves. They were specifically concerned with the control of the winds. Te Alongaoa was god

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776 821 of the south wind; Te Atua Vaelua was god of the north wind; Te Awuawu, god of the east wind; and Ngaliyeyeu, god of the west wind. The four gods were leaders of hosts of attendant gods who fought each other from their respective parts of the sky by throwing spears at each other. The spears were thought of as shafts of air and the speed with which they traveled caused the winds to blow. Thus when the winds grew strong the people said, "The spirits of the gods are fighting hard." Then the people went to the priests of Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua and asked them to intercede with the gods to call off the battle for the time being. If the winds of Te Awuawu or Ngaliyeyeu were rebellious, the people prayed to these gods directly.

Because of their control of the winds, these gods were directly interested also in the control of the sea, especially the natural perils of the sea. They were consulted directly, or through priests, before fishing or voyaging expeditions that they might favor the people with calm seas and gentle winds. In this control, they were joined by Talitonganuku, who was more interested in waterspouts and whirlwinds. Fighting between the gods was responsible for the abandoning of deep-sea voyaging. (See p. 408.)

776 262 613 Te Alongaoa and Te Atua Vaelua were also interested in fish, particularly in fish with pointed mouths like garfish, sword fish, needle fish. The priests of these two gods were not supposed to eat any of these fish; this is the only example of a food tapu associated with a god. The people of the lineage might eat these fish.

776 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were sometimes called *atua lata tangaloa* (tame gods). They were considered more reliable than some of the lineage gods, and were consulted by all the people of the island when quick action or response was required. They could be consulted anywhere and at any time, on land or sea, and did not require the mediation of a priest. They were appealed to in sickness, for the curing of which their reputation was high. Though their home was in the Underworld, they were ready to come forth with the utmost promptness to help intercessors.

776 613 It is possible that formerly there were decorations and attributes associated with these gods that are now forgotten. Thus in an old chant, "Langona e te lulu i Matano", there is a reference to the carrying pole (*amonga*) of Ngaliyeyeu. This is believed by informants to refer to the fact that Ngaliyeyeu used a carrying pole to transport, perhaps symbolically, his power from one place to the next. He gave part of his power or protection, which by transfer was attributed to his carrying pole, to the sub-lineage Walangakula, another part to the Ysto lineage Yayi. Hence these lineages sometimes refer to themselves in chants as *te amonga o Ngaliyeyeu;* they refer also to their worship of the carrying pole on the religious structure of the god. [361] With Ngaliyeyeu are associated decorations of *pua laukie* for his male wor-

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shipers and of *pua takave* for his female worshipers. On all festive occasions it was permissible for men and women to wear these decorations. *Pua laukie* may be either the flower of a *kie* tree, which is unknown in Pukapuka, or else some ear ornament made from pandanus. Similarly, *pua takave* may be an ear ornament made from red-dyed pandanus or else the flower of a tree, unknown today, which some thought had formerly been introduced from Manihiki. Whether other gods had decorations associated with them, apart from priests' specific dress, was unknown to informants.

Ngaliyeyeu is the god who reintroduced fire to the Pukapukans after the seismic wave by giving it to his priest, Te Ule. Walieu, another worshiper, had special curing powers derived from the god. When his fire went out, Walieu lost these powers.

Te Laupapa was a god who protected Motu Ko from thieves and also guarded the fishing rights of Ngake village over the reef that runs from Utupoa to Motu Ko. Thieves who came back from Motu Ko were followed by Te Laupapa, who sent an attendant spirit to enter their bodies and gnaw away the fat. Te Laupapa was supposed by some to reside in a hole in the reef. He went up and down the reef in the hot sun by day wearing a head covering of *tvelo* bark. People walking along the reef often saw a broad shadow going before them and knew that this was the shadow cast by the covering of Te Laupapa. It is likely that Te Atua Vaelua sometimes helped Te Laupapa to guard this reef. A priest or medicine man who prayed to Te Laupapa was given powers by the god to cure sickness, to see spirits and ghosts, to clap his hands and find them full of fish, to go to one of the reserves and find there food for him already cooked.

Tangata-no-te-moana was a god of Muliwutu lineage of Ngake. He had no religious structure and no priest; hence all the people of the island might consult him if they wished. He was a god of the ocean, controlling the fish therein. He also cared for the plants and trees of the Underworld, especially those plant forms that bordered on the great sea of the Underworld where the spirits and gods went fishing. A powerful fishing god, he always helped Muliwutu men in fishing contests, and other fishermen at other times. His body was conceived by some to be in the form of a fish. He seems to have been a powerful god of the Underworld.

Tulikalo was a god of Ngake village who possessed a type of sacred enclosure called a *nenu*. His village duties are not clear, and his best fame is as a musician god of the Underworld, who played the slit wooden gong and was a virtuoso at whistling.

Ancestor Gods

Of the many deified ancestors, some have no more status than that of familiar spirits; others have acquired the rank of minor gods of the lineages.

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776 613 Malangatiale was killed by lightning at sea. Vakayala is best known for the fact that he stole from Motu Ko, then ran amok and killed two children, and was finally tortured and beaten to death by the enraged populace. Kui Manuila may be the same person as the Kui who is a departmental god; informants remembered only his name. Like Malangatiale, Te Pewu became an ancestor god after he was killed by lightning. Poiva and Taukava are remembered only as gods of Yamanaia sub-lineage of Yangalipule. Wakakewiti is given by some as a malignant spirit, by others as an ancestor god of Yamanaia. Lowia is known as a god of Yato. Leweke is a god of Yamanaia. All these gods had religious clearings (*yionga*) and stones to mark the place where they were accidentally killed.

776 226 793 All these ancestor gods helped the people of the village or lineage with fishing and bird catching. Before fishing, men consulted the priest of the sacred clearing (*yionga*). If the gods gave favorable answer to the priest, the people came back with many fish. If they were unlucky, they blamed the priest for his lax attention to his duties; unless the priest admitted that he was at fault, bad luck continued to harass the people. In fishing bonito or other deep-sea fish, whenever the men of Matanga went past the part of Motu Ko from which they could see the clearing of Te Pewu, they stood up in the canoe and performed the thigh-beating ritual (*wakatato*) to secure the favor of the god and bring fish to the hooks.

Leweke was directly interested in *Tridacna* (*puyua*). His shrine, called Te Potu-o-Leweke (Sacred-seat-of-Leweke), was a small raised platform of stones near the lagoon beach of Loto village. When a man returned from clam fishing he would place a good clam aside as a gift to this god. People who did not belong to the sub-lineage of Yamanaia asked a priest of Yamanaia to intercede with Leweke to insure good clam fishing.

776 All the ancestor gods, and particularly Malangatiale, were interested in bird catching. They had the power of sending flocks of birds to the hands of those who prayed to them. The gods made the birds tame and easy to catch.

All the gods were generally thought of as living in a place called Titua under the sea or in the Underworld (Po). Those who were lineage gods came forth from the Underworld to help their intercessors. A number of other gods resided permanently in the Underworld; they cared for the public works of the Underworld and attended the spirits of the recently dead.

Unclassified Gods

Unclassified gods are those who are not prayed to and have little influence on the lives of humans or else function primarily as culture heroes. Maui comes within this class, but he was definitely a culture hero with godlike

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powers, though not deistic functions. Lu was called upon by Te Atua Vaelua to raise up the sky. He came from the land of Aolako, accompanied by his friend, Pingao. Te Atua Pule is thought by some to be the same as Kanitika, but by others to be more of a man-eating ogre. The only mention of Te Alikitu is in the story of the three-cornered contest with Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu (1). Nothing more is known of him.

Wua and Velo were gods who "made" star signs, showing the seasons for fishing. Two stars, either α and β Centauri, or two others of the same declension, are called Na-lua-mata-o-Wua-ma-Velo (The-two-stars-of-Wua-and-Velo).

Totoloa was a god of the eastern seas; Tipeva and Kanapu were gods of the western seas. They lived in houses under the sea and had as their mistresses (*ipo*) the large deep-sea fish. These fish brought all the pearl-shell fishhooks they could bite from the lines of Pukapukan fishermen to the gods who stuck the hooks in the rafters of their houses.

The phrase, *te pane o Tane* occurs in a chant; informants believe this refers to Tane, a god of the legendary land of Yayake. The word *pane* is so archaic as to be no longer translatable, but informants thought it might refer to some mysterious power possessed by this god which enabled him to send fish around the canoe of the fisherman. Nothing more is known of Tane, nor is anything known of other major gods of the Polynesian pantheon such as Rongo or Tu. The name Tangaloa occurs in two chants, "Wakaanga lokuti te waaka" and "Wakaili io koe". In the first, Tangaloa is referred to as an *aitu ungaatu* (fishing spirit); in the second, mention is made of the southern place (*te ouyi tonga*) of Tangaloa. Informants could not clarify these references and had no memory of a god corresponding to Tangaroa.

Attendant Gods

A final class of spiritual beings with godlike powers were called *aowa* or *akiitiki*. They were minor gods or servants of the major gods. When a fisherman's request to the major god of his lineage was favorably received, the god sent some of his attendants to help the fisherman. The attendants came from their legendary meeting place called Lauawa, rounded up the fish, and drove them toward the fishing canoe. Informants compared these minor spirits to angels assisting the major Christian gods. Some of these minor spirits were recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits or spirits of the recently dead. Others were small gods who dispersed from Tonga when Maui hauled it up. In this latter group are placed the names of minor gods, who sometimes function as gods in their own right. A good example is Te Maungaia, who is sometimes given as an attendant god, at other times as subordinate only to Te Laupapa, and again as a god of Ngake and Yato

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lineages. It is likely, I think, that people of Ngake inter-marrying into Yato transferred their affection for Te Maungatu to Yato villagers, and that this god gradually assumed a position of major importance for Yato lineages. Te Alongaoa, another Ngake god worshiped by men of Yato, may have been transferred to a village not his home village by the same method.

A second important duty of the attendant gods was to form a permanent guard for the reserve lands. Whereas the major gods came to the reserves only when trouble arose, the attendants were on perpetual sentry duty and handled all smaller infractions of tapus on their own responsibility. The names of the groups of attendants for the various reserves are:

Reserve	Attendants
Te Lau-loloa-o-Mataliki (Uta).	Te Malanga Atua Ya.
Te Nuku-loa-o-Mataliki (Motu Ko).	Te Maungatu.
Te Nuku-ya-o-Mataliki (Motu Kotawa).	Na Tualiki.
Te Niua-ya-o-Mataliki (Niua).	Na Wuatini.

The relation of the attendants to the reserves is evidenced by the example of Te Malanga Atua. These spirits lived in Uta all the time. Whenever anyone went to the reserve for illicit purposes, the attendants warned the intruder before he committed his illegal act; then if he persisted, they plagued him with threats. On certain regular nights of the moon, the Malanga Atua gathered together (*wakamalanga*) and visited in turn all the cemeteries in Wale, singing and dancing together at each cemetery. Sometimes they also visited humans in dreams. Through these visits and the noise of their ghostly merrymaking, humans knew that they were on watch.

Tapuaki was the name of one individual attendant god, who was the servant of Tuna and who punished violations of the tapus of Uta with incurable debility. Under another guise Tapuaki was a mischievous spirit who promoted illicit sexual relations. Of a man well known for his sexual adventures, the people say, "E tangata la no Tapuaki" (He is a man of Tapuaki). Tapuaki caused jealousy in women over extra-marital relations of their husbands. He also caused nightmares by coming to a man or woman in sleep, twisting him up in the typical nightmare of constriction. In another phase of this spirit's duties, a man who wished to win at a spear-throwing contest threw a flower to the god at the place where he was traditionally supposed to live, close by the cemetery of I Tua. It was thought that Tapuaki made the opponent lose his aim by causing jealous thoughts in his mind at a critical moment.

The *tikitiki* attendants of the major gods seem to have been small animals such as birds. Thus in the story of the woman-seducing contest between Te Awauwa and Ngaliyeyua, Te Awauwa won because of the power of his *tikitiki*, a small bird. After the contest was over he loaned the *tikitiki* to Ngaliyeyua to enable him to seduce Mulitauyakana, a difficult woman of surpassing

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776 beauty. The woman was bathing in the water. The *tikitiki* pecked at her
773 kilt which fell off. When Muli rushed from the water to drive away the bird, Ngaliyeyeu was waiting for her.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE GODS

[793] Communication with other-worldly powers was generally through the
782 medium of priests. Many times, however, a layman might procure the favor of the gods, or the gods might themselves favor the man with a communica-
776 tion, without the medium of the priest. When warning of reserve violations, the gods and attendants spoke directly to the person concerned. On the other
788 hand, to consult the ancestor god for fishing favors, the captain or any member of a fishing canoe communicated the desires of his crew by performing the *wakatato* ritual close to the religious clearing of the god. In *wakatato*, the suppliant stands up, sways his body back and forward and quickly beats the fronts of his thighs (*wakatato te tenga*) with the palms of his hands. This was believed to attract the attention of the god. Consultations of free lance gods or spirits were sometimes accompanied by a gift of flowers thrown on the ground where the god was supposed to be, or else thrown on the ground anywhere, with the idea that the god would see the flowers and recognize the tribute.

782 The technique of communicating a request to the gods Te Awuawu and
788 Ngaliyeyeu was different. The intercessor held a coconut-leaf midrib in the air and addressed the gods as follows:

Te kua ulo kuloa e!	Two persons desirable to eat (a term of affectionate address), hail!
Te [illegible]	(Make) the wind calm
Tuloa te vonga!	Subside the spacings (between the waves)!

Each time he reached the end of his request, he beat the butt of the midrib on the ground with a loud report to attract the attention of the gods. He repeated the plea and the noise-making until the gods listened to him and answered the request. This method of interceding with these gods was done anywhere and was as successful on sea as on land. That anyone might thus directly address these gods probably accounts for some of their popularity.

There is no record of any direct communication with the gods by family prayers, libations, food gifts, or dedication of children.

Religious Structures

778 Communications to the gods by priests needed the instrumentalities of religious structures: *ylonga*, *ennenga*, *unale atua*, and *pora*. The *pora* struc-
[774] ture, as distinguished from the sacred seat (*pora*) in a god house, was a simple shrine. I saw none. The shrine of Lewaka, the god of clams, was

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the end of the seclusion period for boys attaining adulthood. In general, it seems that the house was reserved for the exclusive use of the priests and that others went there only on errands.

Besides priestly costume, peace "nets" (*kupenga uelo*)—one associated with each of the gods Te Laupapa, Te Alongaoa, Taua, and a forgotten Yato god—were kept in the principal god house of the lineages. One was strung up at a meeting place by priests before the people congregated (p. 389).

The sacred enclosure (*auanga* ya) corresponds to the religious marae of other parts of Polynesia. Though no enclosure remains in existence today the sites of several are well known; on two of these a few stones are still in position. (See p. 160.) In the center of the enclosure was the sacred stone (*aau*), the material representation of the god, a solid piece of *punga* coral, of any size or shape. One side of the stone, arbitrarily called the face, was turned toward the east. The priest stepped into the enclosure from one of two entrances (*pu*), breaks in the coral curbing. One entrance was on the eastern (outer beach) side and was called *pu ki ngauta;* the other on the west or lagoon side was called *pu ki tai*. The priest advanced to the sacred stone, seated himself cross-legged before it and addressed the stone, and thus the god, in this position.

Under ordinary circumstances, no person other than the priest and his servant (*taute*) was allowed on the enclosure. On set occasions, however, men went there, as to the god house, to clean up the ground, pick up rubbish, weed, refresh the gravel, or rebuild the curbings. No women assisted at this or any other time. No record survives of any ceremony designed to remove tapu from the enclosure so that the uninitiated might approach it. The routine cleanings were performed by the priest's servant who also acted as messenger for the priest.

Two worshiping structures are called *neuu*, not *auanga*. These are *te neuu o Tuikalo* and *te neuu o Te Maungatu*. The meaning of the word *neuu* in this sense is not clear. Some informants believed that *neuu* is the name of the place where a god emerged from the Underworld when he visited the world of mortals. Others believed that because *neuu* is the name of attendant spirits, enclosures called *neuu* are those where attendant spirits of the major gods might be consulted.

The sacred clearings (*yionga*) of ancestor gods, were cleared avenues, bordered by coconut trees, which ran from the place where the man—later deified—was killed to the lagoon beach or, less frequently, to the outer beach. Clearings might be up to 100 yards long, and from 10 to 15 feet wide. They were kept weeded and cleared of rubbish. Clearings for ancestor gods were called *yionga tangata mate* to distinguish them from the *yionga ole* clearings erected for the sacred maid (*nayahitanga*) to walk on. Both types of clearings were made on land owned by the lineage sponsoring the god or the

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193 him to cure sickness, to see into a man and discover his secret sins, to see spirits and cope with their malicious ways. In the stories there are few examples of unscrupulous priests who used their powers to blackmail the community in order to gain advantages over the people, or to humble their rivals. Undoubtedly, in any dynamic community, the clash of personalities would lead some priests to be more unscrupulous in the use of their powers than others, but this seems to have been rare.

People and Gods

613 Each lineage possessed exclusive rights to consult certain gods, and a
776 man would never think, under ordinary circumstances, of consulting the gods of a lineage not his own. Within the one household, however, where the wife or relatives came from another lineage, the household head would be able with propriety to derive assistance from several gods by allowing members of his household to consult the gods of their own lineages in important household occupations. Minor gods were often worshiped by people of several different lineages, but this was due to historical accident now forgotten. General departmental gods, like Tamayei, though belonging to one lineage, received offerings from all the people because of their relation to the welfare of the whole island. In consultations of these gods as well as of Mataliki and Tasa, the people of the island were always concerned; they watched the consultations of the supreme chief or his executive but would not themselves participate in any way in such consultations. Finally, the lineage gods that control fishing and weather were prayed to by any lineage making a fishing expedition or a canoe voyage through the priest of a god who procured the god's favor for them. In the canoe voyage, it was advantageous to have as a member of the crew a priest from the lineage that controlled the sea and weather gods.

Life After Death

The Soul

774 The Pukapukan concept of life after death is intimately linked with the
775 idea of the soul. In sleep the soul (*mouli*) leaves the material body and
161 wanders about the land. It meets other souls with which it sometimes quarrels; in the fight that results one soul may be killed. It cannot then come back to its material body, and when the individual wakens the next morning, he is without his soul. He quickly sickens and dies, because the material body cannot exist without its spiritual counterpart.

774 The soul wanders round with all the desires and emotions of the body, but without a material covering or embodiment. It lacks the clarity of awareness and understanding that it has when embodied in a material sub-

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from which there is only one story of a return, that of Milimili who was assisted by the gods, Tulikalo and Tangata-no-te-moana.

When a new soul became finally imprisoned in the Underworld, it was welcomed by all its deceased relatives, who came forward and provided a feast for the new spirit. There were no class distinctions in the Po; hence there was no special reception or treatment for a chief. Spirits did not grow old or mature in the Po. People who died old were looked after by relatives who had died young. Babies never grew up. The old cared for the children, and the young men and women provided food for the rest of the community.

Final knowledge of the Underworld before white contact was derived from a visit of the seer Levi:

> One night Levi heard certain sounds of strange music which he diagnosed as slit gong beats of a rhythm unknown on Pukapuka. The music was obviously coming from two wooden gongs played by a skilled musician. Levi decided to follow this strange music, so (in a trance) his soul left his body and journeyed to the Underworld. It came to the place where the gods were merrily dancing to the rhythms of Tulikalo. Levi watched in admiration the skill displayed by this god as he beat out the most intricate rhythms. Levi admired also the beautiful gong sticks of polished ironwood and longed to possess these for himself. Levi drew near the god, and, profiting by a sudden diversion of attention, snatched the sticks from the place where Tulikalo had laid them, and sped back to Pukapuka. Avoiding all entanglements, Levi duly arrived on Wale. In the morning he showed the sticks to the people, explaining how he came into possession of them. One stick was later lost, but the other is in Pukapuka today, doing duty as a knife handle.

MAGIC

The use of black or white magic in Pukapuka was apparently extremely rare in former days. Most of the many references to white magic in the stories refer to the power exercised by the gods to protect or otherwise serve their worshipers. The gods were communicated with and asked to do these favors through the ordinary method of prayer (*takutaku*). The priest Pakai is said to have procured favors from his god by making some use of *welo* bark streamers on his headdress, but whether these streamers were used as a sort of bait object, no informant could tell. Two examples of white magic involving the use of bait objects are found among the stories: Vaetuaniu endows a coconut midrib with the power of speech by spitting into a coconut cup which he places on the midrib; the chief Tuyiyanola, in Yayake, has a woman bear him a child by putting some of his semen in a coconut cup and floating it over the water to the woman who rubs it over her body (p. 381).

No white magic technique was remembered by informants. The Polynesian word *karakia* is not found in the Pukapukan dialect. The word *talotalo*, however, means an incantation, in the sense of a spell which magically causes a desired result. The only example of a *talotalo* that informants could recall was the one used by Yinata to put together again the tree chopped down by

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and then allowed to lie about until they are needed as waste cloth. The soiled sleeping mats of adults may never be used by children, lest they be made sick by contact with the stains. There is no other precaution adopted about sleeping mats or sitting mats; these are used by members of the household or visitors.

GHOSTS

The fear of ghosts (*aitu*, old term; *yitolo*, modern term) is all-pervading in Pukapuka. Not only children, who are brought up with a fear of ghosts, but adults also are thoroughly afraid of them and their power. Children are never left alone in the night lest ghosts worry them. In times of sickness, ghosts are supposed to be particularly troublesome, and it is necessary at these times to be especially careful of the well-being of ailing children, who are not left unguarded even during the day. Ghosts are believed to cause sickness.

SICKNESS AND HYGIENE

IDEOLOGY

The Pukapukan had no conception of the physical causation of sickness or physical disability, unrelated to immoral, sacrilegious, or antisocial behavior of the afflicted individual or his relatives. Sickness was sent by gods or by malicious spirits (*aitu*), in order to punish or revenge the breaking of a tapu, or other antisocial behavior. Punishment by sickness was considered perfectly just, even though the sick person had himself committed no infraction of tapu; all the members of the guilty one's family or household group were jointly responsible.

Types of antisocial behavior punished by sickness were infractions of the following: economic tapus, through non-observance or stealing; rules governing the disposal of property at death or general economic contracts; rules governing the treatment of wife, children, relatives, and old people; sexual tapus, committing of incest, adultery; obligations based on kinship or friendship relations; and tapus on religious or ceremonial objects and structures. Deaths caused by suicide or homicide, or resulting from injuries received in homicidal encounters were the only ones for which a material cause, unaffected by spiritual interference, was recognized. Even here, however, a closer analysis would probably show that death or injury was due to the withdrawal of protection by the god from one of his worshipers because the worshiper had at some time violated rules.

Sickness in general was *maki atua* (god-sent sickness). Special names for types of sickness sent by gods, were: *maki kai kiko*, sickness caused by incest; *maki atua kino*, sickness caused by ancestral spirits. No single word applies to accidental injury, which is given a descriptive term, as *maki no te punenga e te atua ki lalo*, sickness resulting from a fall from a tree caused by a god.

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The treatment of tapu-breaking by the god Te Mangamanga was various: theft of *ngangie* wood, talo, or nuts in his province, Te Mangamanga punished by closing the thief's ears, causing deafness and earache; or by blocking up the bowels, causing constipation and intense internal pain; or by stopping the flow of urine, causing death. Te Mangamanga entered the stomach of a person who ate an unauthorized nut, along with the nut flesh, and ate all the food in his stomach so that the culprit suffered from a perpetual hunger that nothing could satisfy. If a man passed the outer beach of Niua taking a short cut, then Te Mangamanga made his ears stiff and large or soft and crinkly, so that they flopped over the ear hole and blocked the sound.

Gods might send familiar spirits to cause sickness, or they might insert alien substances or animals into the body. Familiar, foreign, or malicious spirits that cause sickness by plaguing the body are *aitu tutukoa* or *aitu kuku*. They come to a victim at night, embrace him with their arms, and cause strangling, nightmares, physical injuries, occasionally also conception in women.

Disease-causing objects are called simply *mea mskglialia*, horrible things. Any of the following might serve as such an object:

Wawawa, anything twisted, bumpy, or imperfect; *nino*, anything tangled; *vana*, a sea porcupine; *loli*, bêche de mer; *kalomea*, species of sea anemone; *matua kalou*, variety of sea cucumber; *kalou*, eel; *weke*, octopus; *ulayina*, sea porcupine; *ulayele*, variety of star fish; *wakoa*, univalve shell; *kawa*, another univalve shell; *kana*, a seaweed; *pupukawa*, a rank seaweed; *pihipihi*, dried coconut husks; *unga*, hermit crab; *kaipea*, a crab; *kawau*, a robber crab; *kalawa*, white crab; *popolonga*, cockroach; *molokau*, milipede; *wili*, centipede; in general, all the different animals and objects of land and sea that bite, sting, prick or are twisted.

MEDICINE MEN

Sickness was treated by medical practitioners known as *tangata yila*, *tangata wotu*, and *tangata yivayiva*. The *tangata wotu* or *tangata yivayiva* was a person expert both in diagnosis and especially in massage and treatment. The *tangata yila* not only possessed those powers, but also was able, by virtue of special gifts, to seek out, see, and kill familiar spirits, invisible to the ordinary eye. A few women practiced medicine; their functions did not differ from those of their male colleagues. *Wotu* of both sexes were general practitioners; there was little specialization, save in terms of specific dream experience.

All medicine men derived their powers from their possession of *manamana*, best defined as extraordinary ability or skill possessed by a chief, warrior, priest, or seer because of his specific association with a god or a familiar spirit. The Pukapukan word *mana* is applied only to a poggun. The concept of tapu is expressed by the word *ya*, that of freedom or commonness, by *tanga*.

The secrets of the profession of the medicine man (*wotu* or *yila*) were

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sounding (*inpe*) ritual, or by the continuous chanting of songs. When he felt the god within him, the medicine man in his trance state told the god of the sickness; in answer, the god told him the cause and the treatment to be followed. The medicine man then took steps to treat the sickness.

A typical case of sickness caused by the direct intervention of a god was given by Pau:

> A man, Y, injures me in some way or other, whether physically or mentally as by ridicule. Wishing to avenge myself, I consult a god of my lineage. If the injury is trifling and the desired revenge slight, I speak to the god anywhere; if the injury is serious, I ask a priest to intercede for me, or if I am a priest, I intercede for myself. According as he views the matter, the god will listen to my request and send or not send sickness. If the god decides to make Y sick, he himself or one of his attendant spirits obtains a disease object, which he causes to be inserted in the body of Y, either through the mouth or the anus. The introduction of this foreign body causes sickness by twisting up, gnawing at, or sticking into, vital organs. Y now falls sick, and calls into consultation a medicine man, who, after a digital exploration of the parts affected, diagnoses the trouble. The medicine man consults the god of his lineage, and procures instructions for removing the foreign body from the patient. With his fingers he squeezes the patient's body and draws out the foreign object. He keeps his hand closed, lest the object try to escape back into the body, but the patient's relatives gather round and feel the hand of the medicine man so as to be assured that the object is really inside it. Then he crushes the disease object and throws it into the fire, so killing the spirit that entered into the object within the patient. Y should now get well.
>
> Y may or may not know the reason for his sickness, but informant was positive that Y would not attempt counter revenge without great provocation. The best technique for Y to employ is to pray to his god for extra protection in future. If Y was made sick on subsequent occasions or if he died from sickness, then provocation would be sufficient for his relatives to pray for the punishment of the offender.

The cultural theory was that a man should not dare to intercede with his god to revenge a sickness without real provocation. One who did so on a slight pretext was termed *tangata lepu atua* (one who violated the sanctity of the god). The god was thought to become angry when called to attend to matters beneath his dignity; he might well become so angry as to send sickness to the *tangata lepu atua* instead of the desired victim.

A malicious spirit (*aitu*) who inflicted disease on a living person to avenge injury received during life, usually to revenge himself on relatives who had neglected him in his old age, stolen his nuts, given him inadequate food, ill treated him, or neglected to bury with him his valuable fishhooks or ornaments, acted in the following way:

> The spirit carried a disease object to the body of a relative or enemy, so causing the illness of which he had himself died—a diagnostic point of importance for the medicine man. When the patient consulted the medicine man he inquired whether anyone had recently died of the same disease from which the patient suffered. If so, there was strong presumption that the deceased's spirit was causing the trouble.

The method of treatment was the one already described, with the following variations:

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On being consulted, the god searched for the presumed sickness-causing spirit, which he showed to the medicine man, asking whether the sickness from which the spirit suffered was the same as that of the patient. Receiving an affirmative answer, the god held the spirit fast while the medicine man beat it to death. The communication over, the medicine man explained matters to the patient and withdrew the foreign thing from his body. The patient recovered with the knowledge that he would never again be troubled by that spirit.

The seer Levi had a great reputation as a killer of spirits. The story of Yawani illustrates his powers:

Yawani was a man from Tongareva who lived in Pukapuka at the time of the early missionaries. When a female friend of his wife died, Yawani sought permission from the pastor to bury her in Tongarevan fashion, in a boxlike stone grave above ground instead of underground in the Pukapukan manner. The pastor refused permission and insulted Yawani. Some days later Yawani went to Motu Ko to cut down a tree for a canoe. The branch he was cutting broke suddenly; a sharp point entered his body and disemboweled him. He died of his injuries. His soul began to wander over the island trying to cause sickness.

Once when the people were sailing across the lagoon to Motu Ko, they saw a ripple of water (*pipi te yuu*) going in front of the canoe. Levi, who was on one of the canoes, said that he could see in the ripple the soul of Yawani. Soon after this the pastor's wife became sick. The pastor was convinced that it was the spirit of Yawani causing the sickness. Prayer was of no avail, so the people asked Levi to deal with the *aitu*. Some time later Levi was looking over the lagoon when he recognised the soul of Yawani moving along the reef from Kotawa to Yato. Levi performed the pigeon (*lupe*) ritual and called on his gods to help him wrestle with the spirit. By the time it had reached the causeway, Levi's gods had rallied to his aid. The gods surrounded the *aitu* so it could not escape; Levi rushed at it with a stick and struck it several times. Some blood fell on the ground (and teeth and a head as well, say some!), and this was taken as a token that Levi had killed the spirit. Further proof was that the pastor's wife got well and the soul was never seen again.

The third type of disease-causing spirit, spirits from a foreign land (*aitu tutuhoo*, mischief-making spirits), specialized in causing epidemic diseases. They were not spirits of Pukapukan dead, but spirits of dead people in foreign lands or of foreign gods. Some say that these spirits came from islands to the east or west of Pukapuka and lit on the island out of pure mischief. Others believe they came with a canoe load of visitors or drift voyagers, and then attacked the Pukapukans, for the visitors were immune to their own gods. At any rate this was a point to be considered by the seer in diagnosing apparently epidemic diseases. All the seers consulted their gods on the sacred enclosures to learn whether the diagnosis of *aitu tutuhoo* was correct. If the diagnosis was confirmed, one seer was chosen to deal with the spirits.

The seer communicated again with his god, who then accompanied him on a visit round Pukapuka. The god had with him his weapons: the lightning, the sun, the stars, the water. When the two came across a spirit, the god poured water about it so that it could not escape without being drowned, then blinded it with lightning, starlight, and sunlight. While the *aitu tutuhoo* was thus helpless, the seer beat it with a stick until it was dead. The seer could then inform the people that the matter was over. If the disease did not immediately disappear, then other *aitu tutuhoo* must be at large and the cure was continued until all were put out of the way.

In reef-fishing contests, groups of three men, one man from each village, fish from separate locations along the reef for two successive days, stopping each evening at a mutually decided time. Each day's catch is taken to the village, the heads cut off and counted. Formerly the fish were counted on the meeting place of the old men. The village with the greatest number of heads wins the contest and has the right to chant and dance on the third day.

Flying-fish contests are held at night, usually for one night only. The fishing procedure is given elsewhere (p. 58). The canoes come back in the small hours of the morning and anchor in the lagoon. The crews come ashore, leaving one man on each canoe as a guard. In the morning the canoes are beached and the catch counted. The fish are cooked for a feast on the following day, when the winning village has the right to chant. During the season for flying fish the young men engage in netting practice (*tautai pewa*) on the beach each evening. The practice nets are made from the aerial roots of the pandanus (*pulu* variety). The "fish" are pandanus keys. One man kneels on the sand with a pile of keys before him. One or two netters stand facing him about 15 paces away with nets in their hands. The thrower tosses the keys very quickly with one or both hands towards the netters, who attempt to catch them as they come flying through the air. Older men comment and give advice to the more inexperienced. The practice is considered as much a game as a serious preparation for the fishing by keeping the eye in training and maintaining skill.

Formerly the village men consulted the gods of the paternal lineage to procure good luck in deep-sea fishing contests (*malama*). It was believed that the gods would order their attendant spirits to send the fish to the canoes of one village only, at the same time barring the fish from the canoes of the other two villages. As this was a challenge to the gods of the other villages to break down the barriers surrounding the canoes, each contest became a test of the powers of the gods of the respective lineages. The modern Pukapukan holds to this old pattern when the men of each village come together for a prayer meeting before each day's fishing (as they do for all other contests), and when one man of the fishing fleet offers up a prayer before the lines are dropped overboard.

Before an exhibition deep-sea fishing contest no deep-sea fishing was done for five days. On the first of these five days the men of each village met together to arrange canoe crews, and on the succeeding days they continued to meet to repair fishing gear. On the night before the contest the Yato men fished in their fishpond for *aua* (milk mullet) to use as bait; Ngake villagers went to Motu Ko to catch *atule* (herring) for the same purpose. On the morning of the fishing contest, the men collected other bait for the regular fishing. The trolling canoes (*vaka tahataha mamao*, distant circuit canoes), which are a regular feature of these contests, were away by 3:30 a.m., one from Yato and one from Ngake but none from Loto because that village controls no section of reef or fishing pond from which it can draw trolling bait.

The trolling canoes are fully manned six-seater canoes (*yehoono*). They leave the reef by the passage and circle the atoll from north to east. Then they come back to the passage and circle the atoll from south to east, trolling for bonito and *pala* fish and looking for turtles. They join the fishing fleet on the fishing ground (*pakeke*) at about 3:00 p.m. and fish with the regular fleet for the remainder of the day. Their circuit of the atoll is made on both fishing days. The wife or other female relative of the captain of each trolling canoe provides the food for the canoe crew. Called the *pakupaku*, she prepares quantities of the taro dish *likoliko*, which she puts in the canoe each morning before the start. The canoes troll with bonito rod and hooks and with hand lines. When the crew rest from paddling, they fish with hand lines. All the countable fish caught by these canoes go to the general pile of village fish, but smaller fish left over after the canoe crew has eaten raw as much as they wish while in the canoe, must be given to the *pakupaku* in return for her food. Membership in the crew of a trolling canoe is no light honor. The two days' circuit round the atoll is a task for brawny paddlers only, especially if the trolling is without much success; and the crew earn well the after-contest rest.

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WARFARE

There is no record in Pukapuka of pitched battles between opposing groups, or of warfare existing within the social structure of a definite institution. The atoll was too small, the total population too few, and the amount of available land too little for institutional warfare to have developed. Informants definitely asserted that warfare was unknown on Pukapuka. They were correct in one sense, but the existence of weapons and stories about fighting shows that the island was not always at peace. Fighting incidents in stories of the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389), the fighting against Yangalipule *po* (1), the fighting of Tuiva against the men of Yato (p. 395), the fighting against Uyo (1), and the fighting of Te Nana in Yayake (p. 403) reveal that such fighting was caused by violation of the tapu of the reserves, quarrels over food divisions, personal rivalries, quarrels over division of the reserves, and like matters. The fighting that occurred rarely rose above the level of brawling, but where a pitched hand-to-hand contest resulted, much blood seems to have been shed for little cause. The number of deaths in these contests seems to have been increased by the fact that losers habitually committed suicide by having relatives bury them alive.

The following customs relate to fighting:

At a meeting for the discussion of highly controversial matters, a net of *wolo* bark was hung on the beach nearby as a warning to all to keep the peace. Anyone wishing for violence had to declare his intentions by tearing down the net, which not only provoked secular violence from opponents but also punishment from the gods for violating the tapu of the net.

A man prepared for fighting by tying up his long hair and girding on his two malos, the malo of hermit and the malo of pandanus. The double-wound coils of hermit round waist and abdomen served as protective armor for the vital organs against spear thrusts. There is no record of body painting or decoration.

Weapons were kept in the sleep house on the platform, laid across the tiebeams, or in the armory house (*wale lakau*). Each of the principal paternal-lineages possessed its armory, a house of the *wale wakayamoa* type. Some such houses were built on the boundary of the principal cemetery of the lineage; others were close to the principal god house of the lineage. In this house the men of the lineage and the sub-lineages stored their heavy spears and clubs, keeping at home only smaller weapons like fish-bone knives. The armories were not tapu; anyone might visit them at any time, and they were kept in good order by the attendants of the god house. The weapons were stored in these houses on platforms, leaving the ground space clear for use by overflow mourners from the mourning houses when many people of the lineage stayed at the cemetery during a period of mourning. In case of alarm, a man girded on his malo at home, picked up his smaller weapons, and ran to the armory of his lineage to select suitable spears and clubs. He might, in dire need, steal a weapon from an armory not belonging to his own lineage, provided he could gain access to it.

Immediately following a war alarm or the sighting of foreign vessels offshore, the priests of the lineage went to the religious structure (*auauga ye*) of the lineage, tied coconut leaves to the stone of the god, and prayed for success in the coming meeting. Where the men of Wale supported the high chief of the island against a group bent on antisocial ends, the chief went to the sacred enclosure to pray to the goddess Taua, who,

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

by her powers, invariably so affected the opposing warriors that they became crazed and, in this condition, easy to kill. The story of Kuluea and Uyo (1) is instructive in this regard as showing the power of Tana. Even so, Pukapukan belief holds firmly that he whose quarrel is just is thrice armed; the eight men of Ngake in the fighting at Waletoa (p. 389) were therefore entirely unharmed or, if injured, healed quickly at the end of a bloody day of battle.

When meeting strangers, as when Te Nana met Te Palo in Yayake, or when meeting foreign vessels, the Pukapukans always challenged by throwing a coconut-leaf midrib, called *kaleva manu* (*kaleva* bird) or *yiliyili* (question). If the strangers kept the missile after it had been thrown at them, this was a sign they came in peace. If they returned it, this was a sign that their intentions were hostile. If the first leaf was returned, two more leaves were thrown before the return of the missile was taken as a definite sign of warfare. The war cry of the people of Pukapuka was: "Manava Pukapuka . . . i . . a!" (Stomach of Pukapuka . . . i . . . a!)

A definite form of organization was worked out for meeting foreign vessels or canoes:

The two paternal lineages, Yangalipule and Yalongo, united to form the *mata kauva* (advance guard that went first to the foreign canoes). The two lineages, Muliwutu and i Tua, united as the *muri taina* (reserve or supporting division). The lineages Matanga, Yamanga and Yayi, were together the *muli kauva* (home division). The captain of the advance canoe of the *mata kauva* carried with him the coconut *yiliyili* (question). As his canoes came up to the strangers, he stood up and hurled the "question". It was arranged before the launching of the canoes which canoe would go first, and the privilege of throwing the *yiliyili* (also the position of danger as hostile canoes would attack the leading canoe first) was shared in rotation among the lineages comprising the advance guard. The supporting division followed behind the advance canoes ready to give support if the *yiliyili* was returned. The home division remained on shore to guard the women, children, and the land, should the strangers attempt to make a forced landing. All the men on canoes or land were armed with weapons. Signals from the canoes to the shore were made by the flashing of wet paddles in the sun.

As soon as a strange vessel was sighted, the women went off to the talo beds and came back quickly to prepare a hasty talo meal for the men. (Tuiva could not himself set out to fight, even though he knew his enemies were looking for him, without first sending his wife to the talo beds to get talo to make a food complement for the fish which he was himself going to catch.) After a quick meal, the men girded on their malos and took up their weapons. The priests prayed on the sacred enclosure for the protection of the gods. The canoes were launched, and the advance and reserve groups paddled to meet the strangers. The home group lined up on the beach and organized for resistance.

No fortifications, either of stone or wood, were used by the Pukapukans. In land warfare it was customary for each warrior (*toa*) to be accompanied by one or more younger men who carried his spare weapons, much in the same way as knights were attended by squires. This is well brought out in the story of Tuiva.

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
776

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for Pukapukan gods, see pp. 21-22.]

3: Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-35) 1953 Pukapukans

776 [For information about the gods concerning their activities and their aid to men, see stories pp. 24-31, category 539 or 116--analyst].

539 Chant from a Yato Man to a Woman of Ngake (1)

Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga	Chant my chant to the distant clearings
Te wawine vave na yia ko te maonioni,	The strong woman is pleased and industrious,
E tuki to koyo, ngalepe te papa o te wenua,	Thrust down your digging stick, broken the level surface of the land,
Napea ki lunga ko te palapala.	Thrown up the mud of the taro garden.
Na mawiti te tuna, kakao ko te liu o Taua,	The eel is started, ascends from Taua's depths, (2)
Wakaoi ake na teletele, tuki ake te puna lalo wenua,	The soft earth is stirred, the subsoil water seeps up,
Poki wainga ia ke ola, taki kau tolu, koa velo ake to kaua,	Successful your planting, triple taro petioles appeared, the main stalk shot upward,
Tilikao ina ko te lau puka	Fertilized with leaves of the puka
Wotuwotu te peleua, utouto te talo kena,	The peleua taro matured, the white taro grew high,
E toaki te kele kula, e ula te ulu pepe ki lalo,	Leaves of the red taro spread, the lower leaves reddened,
Wakatu te piki kivingaleka e wawai ko tau matauyu,	The shoots stood firmly, you pulled the first rows,
E wakia ngalepe te ulukau, e kotia ngalepe te kaua,	Tore off the young leaves, cut and broke off the stalk,
E topetopea ona piki, ona vaivai talo,	Cut off the shoots and little tubers,
E ulaulaki koa amoamo lalava, ko na matawale,	Carried your tuber-loaded basket to the house fronts,

1. This is a love chant composed by a man, Pania of Yato village, for Ulutapu a woman of Ngake. It is a good example of a long love chant with characteristically long and involved symbolisms and metaphors. It was composed during the time of Tuiva's regency.

[244] [776] 2. Successive lines give an excellent account of taro cultivation. The strong woman digs so deep in the taro gardens that she stirs up the lurking eel which is the agent and messenger of the goddess Taua. Another appearance of the eel is recorded in [1:] Beaglehole [and Beaglehole, pp. 81-82, category 116--analyst].

539 E tangi atu au kia koe--	I weep for you in my grief--
Koa unuia lele te angaanga a Lualo i tana uluaki tamawine,	Lualo, your father, ran from his work to his first-born daughter, dead,
Ya kawu lalo, vayi ki te kau ngalipayua i tana mata	Mourning, he covered himself, slashed himself with clam shells, grieving over the sun's face
La wuwuke ko te ulu o Paku	That once opened bright over the sub-lineage of Puk
Koa motu ko te la tautawa, tangowia e Loke i te ala,	You are lost like a day's end sun, taken by Loke on the Underworld's path, (7)
Ko nenewu ko te wale o Leva, ko ta i o wuwuta ki ai,	You are hidden in the house of Leva where her brothers-in-law, the gods, chant,
E wakaoli ai tona taokete, tupeke ko te mata matangi.	And dancing, grieve toward the many wind directions.
Yuaki wakamatauina to titi watu ki te laukie.	The gods keep you, grow accustomed to your presence, you, with your dyed pandanus kilt.
I taku no ia koe i te kino--	Without you, my life here is an evil thing--
Taku loimata lutu pe Taua i na po.	My tears drop like those of night-weeping Taua. (8)
Koa maka au tama ko te ao, ya taupili mai o muli--	My children of this world you have left, buttock-clinging children you comforted--
E yala i wea te mea koa numiai koe?	What is the sin that has taken you from us?
Tanga lua inake toku ulu--	Once you made two wreaths for my head--
Koa wao ai loa au i toku wale atua	Now I go alone to my sacred house
Wai atu mo toku kainga.	To make there your remembrance for my lineage.

7. A god of the Underworld who directed the spirits of the dead along the paths of the Underworld to the house of the goddess Leva.

[776] 8. A story fragment explains this adjectival reference to the goddess Taua. She wished to own a magical net which concealed everything over which it was thrown. The god Tamayei refused to give it to her, and Taua spent her nights weeping.

539	"Newutia io yelewuti ke to la ama! "	"Caught fast! Pull up hard so that it falls to the outrigger side! "
	E tane tupu kalapalapa, e ivi nunui, e lima makeke.	I, man grown strong, with large bones, powerful arms.
	E miti nau, na wawangu ake, wowo ko te keketunga o te po,	A dream of mine did rouse me to prepare my canoe at the ebbing of the night,
	Yau to atua teteki mai, e kave ko to vayi tonga.	Your god had come to fetch you, to take you to southern spaces.
	E anga nou e na wakapono ai lua vayi.	Your fishing was discussed by men of the two Ngake lineages.
	Ma na newu o te matoyia, e kiliti tau ika taeyao:	Helped by attendant spirits of the deep ocean you pulled early morning fish thus:
	Tuki ake ke tete i te yua, e avake loa	Clubbed the fish hard so that it shuddered in the water, raised it up then
	E tatao ke la lunga wua, langona e te pane e Tane.	Pulled it completely out, an exploit heard by the head of Tane. (4)
	Wuwuli i lunga o te kilitai;	Teh fish squirmed on the surface;
	Tu, tu te yiku o te matawula,	Erect, erect stood the tail of the large albacore,
	Ko ati ma to ave-kakai.	Covered the water with ave-kakai fish.
	Akatu te ao ununui, langa ki lunga to tino toka,	A heavy squall arose, you raised your body of stone to face it,
	Ava ko te moana e poalele, mailiina te ala peau.	Some go to an evil-smelling sea, are nauseated, but you swing over the roughest ocean road.
	Ke wano maku pulu ika, e ati ki te ave o te tuava;	Once when I fished, a school of tuava fish covered the waters;
	E wakamayia ko te katea, e ika koa lopa la lunga,	Twisted my noose on the port side, and the fish jumped over it,
	Koa wotu koa tauwiaelo, koa kai lalao i te kupenga,	Came to the surface, ate bait and chum, ate pressing down on the loop,
	Koa lele ma te ane wakatau, e nawa no tau taitangata.	Then rushed off with the chum, worthy opponent of the best fishermen of your birth class.

[776] 4. This reference is obscure as Tane was not a member of the Pukapukan pantheon. Informants could not explain this single occurrence of the god's name.

539 "Tali ake to vayi ki tonga,
Tukia ngalepe te pupuni o Toutapuaki,
Ke yuatiake ngalepe ake, te ika loa tele makalo."

Makatia te popoa mai muli,
Onono ki te akawuwulanga,
Ye kutainatu ke kokolu, onoono e na ule kaina,
Ki te yele kokoti motu i loto.
Koa yeke tenei kainga, koa kupenga mamao mai tua,
Koa taki yele valu, yele witu,
Ulakinga te ika wakawowotu,

Yau ki to aumatavaka,
Ya akaolia te piliume tutakalia te alo kapanga,

Wawa i te atu lalau,
Koa waki ia yeke i katea, e laumama ma to yoa!

"Calm your waters to the south,
Pound to pieces Toutapuaki's barrier, (3)
Until rent asunder, break it that the long-tailed fish swim swiftly to Ngake's canoe."
Drop the bait from the rear,
Watch for the coming of the fish,
Don't lower a twisted noose; watch, o my men, (4)
Loop the fish squarely in the middle.
This lineage is leading, having netted fish far out to sea,
Each man has noosed eight or seven fish,
Carry ashore the fish of various kinds,
Come for your shares.
We swung at the rowlocks, (5) encircling the corners of the lagoon,
Proceeding to foreign lands,
A caught fish pulled to the starboard side, but friends, hoping to take it from us, were sorely disappointed!

[776] [226] 3. Toutapuaki was a god of Yato village who was thought of as maintaining in the ocean a barrier which would keep the fish from Ngake canoes so that Yato men might catch them all and win the contests. The men of each village prayed to their own gods to keep the fish away from their opponents' canoes while sending them to their own canoes.

4. For a discussion of the term of address here used by the canoe captain in steadying his canoe, see [reference obscure--analyst].

5. The reference to rowlocks is metaphorical only. Pukapukan canoes were always paddled. By association with the method of propulsion seen on European boats, the chanter sings as if the fishing canoes in making the customary circuit of the islets had proceeded to far off lands.

159 flowing everywhere. He became terrified of the blood. And awakened in fear.

784 Medicine men (yila).

787 Yila were sometimes rogues: : The story is told of Levi,

776 that he was fed by his aitu [malicious spirits], and never went fishing himself, these aitu bringing him all he needed. At other times, presumably when the aitu were slack on the job, Levi would watch for a woman taking food to another village. He would intercept her, lupe before her, and then in a hysteria inform the woman that his god ordered him to take away the food from her. The women, frightened of the power of Levi, and of his god, would readily obey. This he did, no matter for whom the food originally destined, whether for secular purposes, or whether it was being taken by the owner to the wale atua of her kainga to feed the priests therewith.

776 Gods- Their aid to men:

775 The following story of Millmill relates the help of Tangata-

539 no-te-Moana: Millmill was a man of Matango po [a paternal lineage]. He died, and his wife was deeply sorrowful for her husband. She wept and wept for him, and then called on her family gods, Te paki tua, and Te paki alo, (atua lauwawa, or servant gods of the major god) to help her. She left the dead body inside the house of mourning, and walked round the outer beach calling on her gods to go to the underworld and bring back to its body the soul of the husband. These two family gods went to the Po [Underworld] and consulted with Tangata-no-te-moana about the matter. Tangata made further enquiries but found out that Millmill's soul was already caught in the mat of Leva. The gods sitting round the house of Leva had already sensed the existance of a strange soul, and were telling Leva to kill the soul so that it could never return to the upper world. Leva was sorry for the soul and was temporizing with the gods. Just then Tangata appeared and to divert the gods' attention from the soul of Millmill, he asked Tulikalo to play on his wooden gong. Tulikalo played once, and then stopped. The gods asked about the soul. Tulikalo played a second time, but still the gods kept asking whether the soul was entrapped. Tulikalo played a third time, but still the gods were not satisfied. Then Tangata asked Tulikalo to play long, hard and furiously. Tulikalo beat his gong so long and loud, that the gods were deafened by the soul and began to go blind also. The house of Leva began to quake and tremble with the sound waves vibrating against the walls. Tangata went outside the house and began to push at the walls. This caused them to shake more and more, so that the gods got alarmed and began to rush outside. As they did this, Tangata

776 stole inside again, and whisked the soul of Milimili out from
775 under the mat, threw it outside the house, and there the two
539 family gods picked up the soul, rushed up to the upper world, and put it back inside the body of Milimili. His body turned brown again from its death color of white; he began to breathe again. Then in the midst of his sorrowing relatives, he sat up and told the story of his adventure, including the mako which he heard in the Po. The mako goes: Tulikalo e, Tulikalo e,....etc.

776 Te Maungatu is a kainga god of Yamaunga po of Yato. Two
539 stories are told to show how he has the power to protect the people of his kainga [i.e., po]:

Pakai was a wata (priest) of this god, and he was sent to Motu Ko to watch the outerbeach for the arrival of turtles coming ashore to breed. To do this he had to spend the night on Motu Ko alone. All the malicious spirits, aitu, on Ko decided to kill him and eat him, since he appeared to be without protection, and was violating the sanctity of the reserve. Pakai heard voices about him as the ghosts came crowding around, but he could see nothing. Soon as the ghosts came closer still, he heard voices say: "Tau laulau, tau pala," "get ready your food platter your knife (to cut up this intruder)." At once Pakai realized he was in danger of being eaten and cut up for intruding on this motu. He prayed to Te Maungatu, and as the ghosts made a charge at Pakai, Te Maungatu dived under the feet of the ghosts and pushed them aside. Through this space, Pakai was able to run to the beach. The ghosts followed him anxious not to let go this intruder, but whenever they appeared to be hemming him in, then Te Maungatu came and made a break in the circle for him to escape through. Thus Te Maungatu defended him until he could run along the reef and reach again the village, when, of course, the ghosts vanished at the sound of many human voices.

Tuyana was a wata of Te Maungatu. At the time of the seismic wave, Tuyana disappeared in the flood waters, and after the waters subsided, Te Maungatu looked for his priest. He came to the beach opposite Niua, and saw there the dead body of Tuyana, with all the flesh and skin decayed, only the bones and sinews holding together. Te Maungatu took the skeleton to Kotawa, and put it in the hollow of a big puka tree near the outer beach. He cared for the skeleton, and gradually, it grew new flesh and skin, and came to life again. Thus Te Maungatu has a wata again in this world to represent him before human beings of his kainga.

8:Beaglehole and Beaglehole--9 E-5 (1934-35)1953 Pukapukans

776 The following story relates the way that Te Awuawu and
539 Ngaliyeyeu were always ready to help the people: On one occasion a canoe from Loto went fishing along the alai of the lagoon. The crew became tired, hungry and thirsty, and the canoes were drifting down on Motu Kotawa. The crews were too hungry to paddle back to Wale without refreshment, yet as the men from Yato were fishing on Kotawa, and as they also had a palenga pule guard on the island, it would be impossible to paddle up to the landing beach, land and get nuts. The crew therefore decided to pray to these two gods, Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu, to come and occupy the canoe, while the crew swam ashore and stole some nuts. Soon, several birds fluttered down from the air and settled on the canoe, telling the crew to swim ashore while they looked after the canoe. The crew jumped over the side, and when they were a little distance from the canoe, the birds changed into humans, who held fishlines, over the side. The crew swam to the back of the island and came back soon with nuts. When they came near the canoe, the birdmen changed back into birds, and flew away when the crew was safely back in the canoe. It was all done in such a way, that the Yato guard on shore did not realize that the human crew had swum ashore. All they could see was the canoe with the crew fishing; they did not realize that the fishermen were bird-men, and not the real crew of Loto.

775 Wotoa and Te Yoa., their visit to the Underworld. [see 1:
539 Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 326-330--analyst.]
The account of alaekonga has these variations:

1. The two men asked to visit the Po by their god who appeared in a dream to them and extended a personal invitation. The place on the reef where they went down was called Te ava o veka, which is near the place called Te ala o kawa.
2. Malu was guarding his niu tree. He climbed up, got one nut, husked it, gave it to them to drink and eat the flesh (the mata end to Wotoa, the muli end to Te Yoa). The shells were then given back to Malu who fitted them together, threw the nut up in the tree again, where it joined on to the tree as a perfect nut.
3. Both men saw the gods playing games, and introduced these to Pukapuka.
4. The gods made mako when they found that Leva had a soul trapped in the mat.
5. Only Wotoa came back to Pukapuka. Te Yoa found things so much to his liking that he asked to be allowed to stay in the Po. His wish was granted and he stayed there afterwards.

244 when the first leaves are just opening.

241 Useful plants such as bananas, sugar cane, talo, niu [coconut tree], etc. should all be planted at the time of the new moon if they are to grow and produce well.

625 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 232--analyst.] Through
616 the idea of a women's pule [guard] is new, informants noted
621 that it was entirely consonant with Pukapukan patterns that the woman's pule should be organized on wua lines, all the Kati women serving at once, followd by the Lulu women. This would only include those members of the wua who were members of the village and hence represents village membership primarily, wua membership secondarily.

597 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 251--analyst.] It is
592 probably not an over exaggeration to say that there is not one household in Pukapuka which does not number among the children of the house at least one, if not more, tama kokoti, and at least one tama wangai, who may or may not later become a tama kokoti.

581 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 295--analyst.] One informant felt that obedience was probably the greatest virtue to be found in a woman, but man looks for sexual pleasure first of all. Then he looks for other virtues.

522 While the Pukapukan language lends itself easily to puns,
196 there is no such form of humor nor appreciation of it.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 310--analyst.] When
245 the clusters of nuts were brought to the malae of food division,
771 one was chosen to take each cluster and shake it. All the
782 nuts that fell from the cluster were divided among the people. All that remained on the bunch were given to the god. The number to be left on the stem was preferably 1-4. If a man shook a bunch and more than 5 remained for the share of the god, this was considered too many, and this food divider was dismissed never to be chosen again. He was considered to be too partial to the god, and not partial enough to the people of the island. After all the clusters were shaken thus, the nuts for Tamayoi were gathered together and taken to a back part of the bush, somewhere behind the site of the present church, and then laid on the ground. Here they are left to rot and it is presumed that the god feasts from the spiritual essence of the nuts.

285 filled by the open ola and the tuluma of lau wal pakapaka.
177

225 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 69--analyst.] When the turtles are seen joined together in copulation, men swim out and surround the turtles. One man dives down underneath the turtle, and comes up to grasp the foreflippers, kapakapa. He pushes the head up, the rear parts are depressed, the man puts his legs around the turtle's body and holds it. His companions come up, stretch the foreflippers apart and tie them to a stick. The turtle is then lifted into the canoe and brought ashore.

526 Te Awuawu and Ngaliyeyeu were the originators of the game
776 Lukipoko, and through their teaching it to Wotoa and his friend, the game was introduced into Pukapuka.

776 [See 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, p. 308--analyst.] Atua punupunu [principal gods of the paternal lineages]: When asked the meaning of the word punupunu, informants say, "round". When reminded that the Pukapukan word for round is pukupuku and that punupunu is the Rarotongan word, then informants hedge and say the classification must be atua pukupuku. When asked to explain the meaning of such a classification, they say they do not know, whether it might have referred to a round stone that represented the god or whether to something else, informants simply do not know.

782 When the aliki [chief] or the wola [executive] go to pray to [the goddess] Tuna, each takes with him lau niu or lau wuti which he ties round wutu Tuna. "This is to make the stone look pretty, glad, and happy so that it will listen receptively to the prayers of the men." No food offerings were ever given to Tuna, only the wrapping of leaves.

839 Native texts.

The Revenge (Literally the Oven) of Two Girls. [For English translation see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 379-380, category 116 or 839--analyst.]

Ko te kuu o Lua Tamawine. No Tonga lava. Ela lua o lava kainga: ko Manawuna ma Tangaloa. Wo loa lua tamawine ia ki Tayako. Wakako loa kunga o Na Tua Wuewue. Ta mako loa laua. Wakalongolongo loa te wenua ia i te leleka o laua lou. Wo loa ia te wenua ia ki a Tuyimeto. Ikiiki mai loa ki te

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
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114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [773] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. [861] Children are also disciplined by the threat that ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [521] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [848] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.